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A HISTORY OF KANARESE LITERATURE

BY

EDWARD P. RICE, B.A.

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CORRIGENDA

Page 14, line 14 from bottom, add "under the modified name of *Chālukyas*."

For "*Chālukya*" (with long ā) read "*Chalukya*" (with short a) in the following places:—Page 13, lines 24, 32; page 14, lines 7, 14, 18, 25, 27 (not 29); page 15, line 7 from bottom; page 16, line 6 from bottom; page 27, lines 3, 5.

For "*Kālachūris*" read "*Kalachuris*" page 14, line 11 from bottom; page 16, line 8 from bottom; page 21, line 9 from bottom.

Read "Gommaṭēśwara", page 29, line 1; page 54, line 2.

Page 9, line 5, for page 23, read page 20.

Page 18, line 34, read "Vimala" for "Vimaļa", "Nimi" for "Nami".

Page 18, lines 35, 37, read "Padmaprabha" for "Chandraprabha".

Page 24, line 11, read page 82 for page 84.

Page 24, line 24, read "chārya" for "Chūḍāmaṇi".

Page 26, read "viśada," "vishaya".

Page 31, line 9, read "kāraṇa".

Page 34, line 19, read "Jina pūja" for "Jaina pūjā".

Page 36, line 18, read "Rāvan" for "Rāvaṇa".

Page 45, top of page, read "Lingayat Writers" for "The Rise of Lingayatism".

Page 49, top of page, read "Lingayat Writers" for "The Rise of Lingayatism".

Page 49, line 3, read page 43 for page 49.

Page 61, line 16 from bottom, read "gloss" for "glossary".

Page 84, line 5, read "c. 1610" for "C. 1610".

Page 90, line 3, read pp. 9 and 20 for pp. 11 and 23.

Page 90, line 8, read p. 9 for p. 11.

Page 92, line 31, read Linganna.

Page 92, line 34, the word *Akalankāshṭaka* should begin a new line just above *Bāgalu-taḍeyuva hāḍu*.

EDITORIAL PREFACE

> Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honourable, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things.

No section of the population of India can afford to neglect her ancient heritage. In her literature, philosophy, art, and regulated life there is much that is worthless, much also that is distinctly unhealthy; yet the treasures of knowledge, wisdom, and beauty which they contain are too precious to be lost. Every citizen of India needs to use them, if he is to be a cultured modern Indian. This is as true of the Christian, the Muslim, the Zoroastrian as of the Hindu. But, while the heritage of India has been largely explored by scholars, and the results of their toil are laid out for us in their books, they cannot be said to be really available for the ordinary man. The volumes are in most cases expensive, and are often technical and difficult. Hence this series of cheap books has been planned by a group of Christian men, in order that every educated Indian, whether rich or poor, may be able to find his way into the treasures of India's past. Many Europeans, both in India and elsewhere, will doubtless be glad to use the series.

The utmost care is being taken by the General Editors in selecting writers, and in passing manuscripts for the press. To every book two tests are rigidly applied: everything must be scholarly, and everything must be sympathetic. The purpose is to bring the best out of the ancient treasuries, so that it may be known, enjoyed, and used.

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PREFACE

FIFTY years ago very few, even of the Kanarese people themselves, had any idea of the range of Kanarese literature or of the relative age of the books which constitute it. Our present knowledge is the fruit of patient work on the part of a small number of painstaking scholars, who have laboriously pieced together the scattered information contained in inscriptions on stone and copper and in the colophons and text of palm leaf manuscripts.

It is the practice of Kanarese poets to preface their works, not only with invocations of the gods and of the saints of old time, but also with the praise of former poets. This practice is of very great historical value, for it enables us to place the poets in their relative chronological order. As in many instances the writers received patronage from some reigning king, the mention of the name of the royal patron enables us further to give to many of the poets an approximately correct date. In this way a list of Kanarese poets can be drawn up in fairly correct order. The result shows that Kanarese has a literature of vast extent, reaching back till its beginnings are lost in the mists of time in the early centuries of the Christian era.

The first modern scholars to give with any fulness a connected view of Kanarese literature were the German missionaries, Würth and Kittel. The latter in 1875 prefixed a valuable essay on Kanarese Literature to his edition of Nāgavarma's *Prosody.* Since then a vast deal of additional information has been obtained, more especially through the researches of Mr. Lewis Rice, C.I.E., Director of Archæological Researches in Mysore, and his assistants and successor.

I am not aware that there is any separate volume in the English language giving a history of Kanarese literature. The most readable general account is to be found in Mr. Lewis Rice's *Gazetteer of Mysore*, Vol. I, and in his *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions.* Fuller details are con-

tained in his introduction to Bhaṭṭākalanka's *Karṇāṭaka Śabdānuśāsana*, a bulky volume now out of print, and in the *Karṇāṭaka Kavi Charite*, or "Lives of the Kanarese Poets," by Messrs. R. and S. G. Narasimhāchārya, respectively Officer in charge of Archæological Researches and Kanarese Translator to the Government of Mysore. The last-named work being written in Kanarese is available only for those who know that language. Only Part I has so far been published, which carries the history up to the end of the fourteenth century. It gives illustrative extracts from the works described. The present popular account of Kanarese literature is based on the above-named authorities, to whom acknowledgement is hereby unreservedly made. Without their researches this work could not have been written.

The enumeration of a long series of little known writers cannot be other than tedious to the reader. I have endeavoured to mitigate this effect by introducing as much local colour as was available, and by sketching in as a background an outline of the times in which the poets lived and the atmosphere of religious faith and custom in which they moved. For the sake of English readers I have also explained many Indian terms which require no explanation for the Indian reader.

By desire of the Editors, renderings have been given of a few illustrative passages from typical works belonging to different periods. In these, for reasons partially indicated in Chapter X, the attempt has been rather to express the general spirit of the original than to offer a closely literal translation. Graces due to alliteration, rhythm, vocabulary, and double meaning are, of course, lost in any translation.

The systematic historical study of Kanarese literature is of such recent origin, and every year is adding so much to our knowledge, that on numerous points there will soon be available fuller and more accurate information than that presented in the present volume. My brother, Mr. Lewis Rice, has kindly read through the manuscript and made various suggestions.

Hassocks, E. P. R.
October, 1915.

I.

THE KANARESE LANGUAGE AND COUNTRY

The Dravidian Languages.—Kanarese is one of the Dravidian languages, which are the vernaculars of South India, and which are wholly unrelated to the Aryan languages spoken in North India. The other literary members of the family are Tamil, Telugu and Malayalam. A line drawn from Goa, on the West Coast, to Rājmahal, on the Ganges, will approximately divide the Dravidian languages on the south from the Aryan languages on the north. There is a large population of Dravidian *race* north of this; but they no longer speak a Dravidian language. No close connection has been shown between the Dravidian languages and any other languages of the world, if we except Brahūi, a non-literary language of Beluchistan. Certain words and forms seem to point to a connection with the ancient Median language used on the Behistun monument (and perhaps with Akkadian). Affinities are also said to exist with the Finnish of North Europe and the Ostiak of Siberia. These call for fuller investigation.[1] The Dravidians seem to have occupied their present seats from extreme antiquity. One of the earliest traces of this group of languages is found in the fact that the peacocks imported into Jerusalem by King Solomon B.C. 1000, and which must have come from the west coast of India, have a Tamil name.[2]

The Kanarese Country.—The population speaking Kanarese is about ten millions. The extent of country in

[1] See Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages.*

[2] Hebrew *tukki*=Tamil *tokai*, which, in ancient Tamil, meant "peacock."

which it is now the vernacular is shown in the accompanying map. It includes the whole of Mysore, the western half of the Nizam's Dominions and the southern (so-called "South Mahratta") districts of the Bombay Presidency, together with the districts of North Canara and Bellary in the Madras Presidency. With the exception of the Western Ghats and the strip of land at their feet, the whole of this tract is an upland plain from 1,200 to 3,000 feet above the sea, with a flat or gently undulating surface, draining off to the East.

In the *Kavi Rājamārga* (A.D. 850) the Kanarese country is described as extending from the Kāveri to the Godāvari; which shows that the linguistic area at that time extended further north than at present. Inscriptions, manuscripts, local names and other evidence prove that Kolhapur, where the chief language now is Marāṭhī, was once in the Kanarese area. Also in Sholapur town and district there are many Kanarese inscriptions. The northern limits of Kanarese were probably pushed back by the Maratha raids and conquests.

The Name of the Language.—Kanarese is called by its own sons *Kannaḍa* or *Karṇāṭaka*. The English name is a corrupt form derived from the early Portuguese, who entered the country through what is now known as North Canara, and spoke of the country and people as *Canarijs*. When the English settled on the East Coast, all South India, from the river Krishna to Cape Comorin, was under the rule of a Kanarese dynasty, reigning at Vijayanagar, and was known as the Karṇāṭaka Realm. Hence the name "Carnatic" has come to be popularly applied to the coastal plains south of Madras, although these are Tamil-speaking districts and quite outside the Kanarese country proper.

Earliest Specimens.—In a Greek papyrus of the second century found at Oxyrrhynchus, in Egypt, occur a few words quoted from some Indian language, which Dr. Hultzsch thinks can be identified with Kanarese (See *J.R.A.S.*, 1904, p. 399). If this be so, this will be the earliest extant trace of Kanarese. Among the earliest inscriptions, of approximately known date, written in the Kanarese language, are the following, the text and translation of which can be seen

in the *Epigraphia Carnātica* (quoted as E.C.). Those marked with an asterisk are there given also in facsimile.

	Date
Rock inscriptions at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa; E.C. II. 1-21, 23, 26-35. No. 26* is quoted and translated below (p. 23).	Early
On a stone in temple at Siragunda; E.C. VI, Chikmagalūr 50.*	c. 500
On a stone in temple at Kigga; E.C. VI, Koppa 37.	c. 675
On a stone found at Talkād, now in Victoria Jubilee Institute, Mysore; E.C. III, Tirumakūdlu Narsipura 11.* It is figured opposite; text and translation will be found in the Appendix.	726
On a vīrakal found at Doḍḍahundi, representing the death of the Ganga king, Nītimārga; E.C. III, TN 91.* It is now in the Bangalore Museum.	c. 869
On a sculptured stone from a temple, in Bēgūr, but now in the Bangalore Museum; E.C. IX, Bangalore 83.*	c. 890
On a stone at Bellatūr, a lengthy inscription by the poet, Malla, recording the sati of a princess, whose husband had been put to death for killing a kinsman, apparently in a wrestling match; E.C. IV, Heggaḍadēvankōṭe 18.	1057

The Kanarese Alphabet and Written Character.—It is to Sanskrit scholars from the north that Kanarese is indebted for its reduction to writing and its introduction into the world of literature. The grammatical terms and arrangement follow Sanskrit models.

The *Alphabet* is consequently syllabic, and follows the orderly arrangement of the Sanskrit alphabet. It even includes forms for ten aspirates, two sibilants, and certain vowels and a semi-vowel not required for Dravidian words; but there have been added five characters (e, o, ḷa, ṟa, ḻa) for sounds not occurring in Sanskrit. The universal practice of making children recite the *Amara Kośa* (a metrical Sanskrit glossary) from the very beginning of their education has helped to Sanskritise the pronunciation of the language. The aspirates are now freely used in indigenous words; and of its own characteristic letters two have dropped out of use—*ḷa* about the twelfth century, and *ṟa* about the eighteenth century.

"The written character, which is common to Kannaḍa and Telugu, and which spread over the south and was carried even to Java, is derived, through that of the cave inscriptions in the west of India, from the South Asoka character, or that

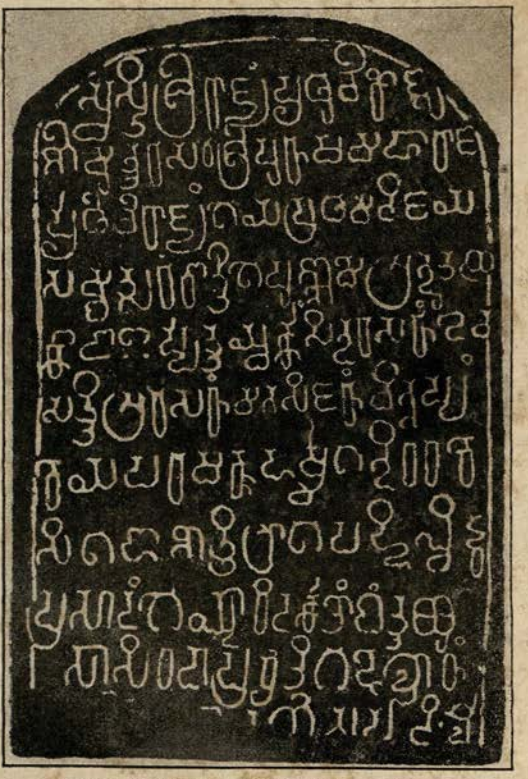
of all his inscriptions except in the extreme north-west of the Panjab. It belongs to about 250 B.C., prior to which date no specimens of writing have been discovered in India, though there are numerous earlier allusions to writing. This ancient alphabet has lately been satisfactorily proved by Dr. Bühler to be of Semitic origin. It is properly called the *Brahmi lipi*, and was introduced into India probably about 800 B.C." (*Mysore Gazetteer*, I, 491). For the study of the character in successive centuries the student is referred to Burnell's *South India Palæography* (Trubner, 1878), and to Buehler's *Indian Palæography*, a translation of which appeared in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1904.

Historic Changes.—Dr. Kittel notes four stages in the history of the language during the past thousand years—*viz.*, Ancient, Mediæval, Transitional and Modern. A careful summary of the inflexional and other changes which characterise each of these stages is prefixed to his *Kannaḍa-English Dictionary*, to which the reader is referred.

It should be noted that the term "Ancient Kanarese" does not always denote an obsolete form of the language. The vocabulary and inflexions of Ancient Kanarese are still used for the purposes of poetry. The term, therefore, sometimes denotes a particular (antique) style of writing.

The Influence of Neighbouring Languages.—As regards vocabulary, Kanarese is dependent on Sanskrit for practically all abstract, religious, scientific, and philosophical terms. Even the oldest extant Kanarese works abound in Sanskrit terms. Āṇḍayya (c. 1235) by a *tour de force* succeeded in excluding tatsamas from his *Kabbigara Kāva* (see p. 52); but even he uses tadbhavas, which occur also freely in all inscriptions. It has been well said that Sanskrit, though not the mother of Kanarese, is entitled to be called its *foster-mother*, because it was owing to the vigour infused into it by Sanskrit that it was enabled to become a literary language. (*Essays on Kanarese Grammar, Comparative and Historical*, by R. Raghunatha Rau, B.A., Bangalore, 1894.)

Telugu seems to have had some influence in modifying Kanarese inflections. This was probably due to the extensive intercourse which always existed between the two language areas, which are not separated by any geographical



KANARESE STONE INSCRIPTION FROM TALKAD, A.D. 726.

Now in the Mysore University, Mysore.

Text and Translation will be found in the Appendix.

barrier. Moreover, the two languages have a common alphabet; and their territories have sometimes been under a common or allied sovereignty. The Maratha language has influenced the dialects of the north-west part of the country.

II.

PERIODS OF THE HISTORY OF KANARESE LITERATURE

THE history of Kanarese literature can best be divided into periods corresponding to the religious systems dominant in successive times.

1. Until the middle of the twelfth century it is exclusively *Jaina*, and Jaina literature continues to be prominent for long after. It includes all the more ancient, and many of the most eminent, of Kanarese writings.

2. *Lingâyat* literature commences from about 1160 A.D., when Basavâchârya revived the ancient Vîra-śaiva, or Lingâyat religion—an evolution which was signalised by a great outburst of Vîra-śaiva literary activity, wholly different from that of the Jainas.

3. The *Vaishṇava* revival, beginning under Râmânujâchârya in the beginning of the twelfth century, continued by Madhvâchârya (about 1230) and reinforced by Chaitanya (1500), introduced a period in which *Brâhmanic* thought became dominant, an ascendance which has continued up till the present time. Its marked effect upon Kanarese literature may be said to commence from 1508, the date of the Kanarese version of the Bhârata.

4. A *Modern* period is now in its early stages, which has been brought into being by the impact of Western thought and the influence of English literature.

The whole course of the history may be compared to a river receiving tributaries. During the first millennium of its course it is an unmingled stream of Jaina thought. In the twelfth century this is joined by the stream of Vîra-śaivism; and the two streams, like the Rhone and Saone at Lyons, flow side by side without mingling. In

the beginning of the sixteenth century these two are joined by a Vaishṇava affluent; and the united stream flows on until in the nineteenth century it is broadened and much modified by a great inrush of Western thought.

These different sections of Kanarese literature differ not only in religious background, but also in literary form. Jaina works are generally in *champu, i.e.*, mingled prose and verse, the verse being in a great variety of metres and evincing great literary skill. Much Lingāyat literature is in prose; its poetry is mostly in monotonous six-lined stanzas, called *shaṭpadi;* some is in three-lined *tripadi* or *ragaḷe.* The longer Brahmanical works are also in *shaṭpadi;* but there are beside many lyrical compositions to popular airs. The literature of the modern period is mostly in prose; but a popular form of composition is *yakshagāna.*

Kingdoms and Dynasties of the Kanarese Country.— The following summary account of the dynasties which have successively ruled, in whole or part, over the Kanarese people will help to make clear future references.

The *Kadambas*, whose capital was Banavāsi, on the Varada, ruled all the western part of the Mysore Province, together with Haiga (North Kanara) and Tuluva (South Kanara) from the third century to 566, when they were conquered by the Chālukyas. Their name, however, as viceroys and governors, continued at intervals till the rise of Vijayanagar about 1336. They had a lion crest and a monkey flag.

The *Pallavas* were only partially in the Kanarese country. They ruled from the third to the sixth century from Vātāpi; and after that, until the eighth century, first at Vengi, but latterly and mostly from Kānchi. They were conquered about 750 by their hereditary enemies, the Chālukyas, assisted by the Gangas. Their territory included the whole of the Telugu country, and as far south as Trichinopoly. In the ninth and tenth centuries the Nolambas, who claimed to be Pallavas, ruled that part of Mysore called after them Nolambavāḍi Thirty-two Thousand (approximately the Chitaldrug district). The latter part of the name indicates probably the revenue stated in *nishkas*, or pagodas.

The *Gangas*, from the second century to about 1000, ruled Gangavāḍi (=the greater part of Mysore), together with the whole of the Kāveri basin except the Tanjore delta. Their capital was Talkāḍ, and their seal an elephant. They were overthrown in 1004 by Rājēndra Chola; and the Hoysalas succeeded to their dominion.

The *Early Chālukyas* came from beyond the Nerbudda about 500, and after subduing several kingdoms, captured Vātāpi from the Pallavas, and made it their capital. They all bore the titles *paramēśvara*, *mahārājādhirāja*, and *parama bhaṭṭāraka*, indicating overlordship. About 615 they broke into three branches—respectively, northern, eastern and western.

The *Eastern Chālukyas*, styling themselves "Lords of Vengi," ruled from Vengi, and, after 910, from Rājamahēndri, till the eleventh century, when they were absorbed into the Cholas.

The *Western Chālukyas*, "Lords of Kuntala," ruled from Vātāpi till about 750, when they were overthrown by the Rāshṭrakūṭas. They were all called Satyāśraya, and also bore the above-mentioned titles of overlordship.

The *Rāshṭrakūṭas*, or Raṭṭas, all having a title bearing the affix Varsha, ruled from 750 to 973, over Raṭṭavāḍi Seven-and-a-half Lakh country. From 850 their capital was at Mānyakhēta. They inherited the Chālukya power, and the Pallavas were tributary to them. In 973 a scion of the Western Chālukyas overthrew them and restored the Chālukya lineage.

The *Western Chālukyas* made Kalyāṇa their capital, and ruled till overthrown by the Kalachuris in 1156.

The *Kālachūris* (capital, Kalyāṇa) ruled only about 30 years (1156-1186 c.). Their period, though short, is important, because it includes the Lingāyat revolt.

The *Cholas* had ruled in the Tamil country from before the Christian era. In the second century their capital was Uraiyūr, near Trichinopoly. In the tenth century it was transferred to Tanjore. About 1000 they made wide conquests, absorbing Vengi and a great part of Gangavāḍi, and over-running a large part of the Kanarese country. Their territories were named Chola-maṇḍala (whence the term "Coromandel" is derived).

The *Hoysalas*, or *Ballāla Rājas*, expelled the Cholas from the Mysore, and ruled from the eleventh to the fourteenth century from their capital, Dōrasamudra (Haḷebīd). At first Jaina, they became Vaishṇava through the influence of Rāmānujāchārya about 1100. Their capital and dynasty were overthrown by the Muhammadan incursion under Alā-ud-dīn in 1326. From the time of Vishṇuvardhana their territory included the whole of Mysore, and most of Salem, Coimbatore, Bellary and Dharwar.

North of the Hoysalas, and contemporary with them, were the *Yādavas*, or *Seūnas*, of Devagiri (=Tagara, Daulatabad). They ruled from 1187-1312, when their kingdom fell before Alā-ud-dīn, and was succeeded by the Bāhmani Kingdom. Their crest was a golden garuda.

The *Ādil Shāhi* dynasty of Bijapur occupied the Kanarese districts of the Bāhmani Kingdom from 1489-1687, when it fell before Aurangzib.

Vijayanagar arose out of the ruins of the kingdoms of South India brought about by the Muhammadans, and became the sovereign power from the Krishna to Cape Comorin. Its capital was at Vijayanagar (Hampe). It lasted from 1336-1565, when it was overthrown by the Muhammadans.

The *Woḍeyars of Mysore* rose to power out of the ruins of the Vijayanagar Kingdom. Their annals begin in 1513. Since the acquisition of Seringapatam in 1610, they have continued to grow, and are now the dominant power in the Kanarese country.

The following table shows the capital cities where the royal patrons of Kanarese literature lived in successive periods:—

400- 550	Banavāsi (Kadamba); Vātāpi (Early Pallava); Talkād (Ganga).
550- 820	Vātāpi (Chālukya and Rāshṭrakūṭa); Talkād.
820-1040	Talkād; Mānyakhēta (Rāshṭrakūṭa).
1040-1312	Kalyāṇa (Western Chālukya); Dōrasamudra (Ballāl).
1312-1565	Vijayanagar.
1565-	Mysore.

The chief centres of Kanarese literature at present are Mysore, Bangalore, Dharwar and Mangalore.

III.

THE JAINA PERIOD

TO A.D. 1160

Śrīmat parama gambhīra syādvād-āmogha-lānchanam
Jiyāt trailokya-nāthasya śāsanam Jina śāsanam.

"May the sacred Jaina doctrine, the doctrine of the lord of the three worlds, be victorious;—the supreme, profound *syādvāda*, the token of unfailing success." This couplet is placed at the head of most Jaina inscriptions.

THE JAINA RELIGION IN THE KANARESE COUNTRY

Up to the middle of the twelfth century practically every Kanarese writer belonged to the Jaina faith; and even after that date for several centuries some of the most scholarly writers continued to be Jainas. It is, therefore, well to preface the record of this period of the literature with a few notes on the Jaina religion and its connection with the Kanarese country. This is, indeed, necessary in order that there may be a suitable background for the story.

Its Dominance in the Kanarese Country.—For more than a thousand years after the beginning of the Christian era, Jainism was the religion professed by most of the rulers of the Kanarese people. The Ganga kings of Talkād, the Rāshṭrakūṭa and Kālachūrya kings of Mānyakhēta, and the early Hoysalas were all Jainas. Although the Kadambas and early Chālukyas were of the Brahmanical faith, they were very tolerant of Jainism, and did not withhold patronage from its writers. Hiuen Thsang, in the seventh century, records that he found the Jainas very numerous in these parts; and they seem to have been very successful in disputation with their rivals, the Buddhists. The Pāndyan kings

of Madura were Jainas; and Jainism was dominant in Gujarat and Kathiawar. On the other hand, the Pallavas of Kāñchi, and the Cholas of Uraiyūr and Tanjore, were strongly Hindu and hostile to Jainism.

Its Introduction into South India.—Jainism was introduced into South India at some period prior to the Christian era. An eminent Jaina leader, of the name of Bhadrabāhu, either in Behar or Ujjayini, anticipating a prolonged famine in North India, led a large community of Jainas toward the south, and travelled as far as the two rocky hills, now called Śravaṇa Belgoḷa ("Belgoḷa of the Jainas"), in the centre of the Mysore country. This is spoken of by the Jainas as the great Digambara migration, and marks an epoch in their history.

So far all scholars are agreed. Jaina traditions state that this Bhadrabāhu was the well-known *śruta kēvalin* (*i.e.*, the teacher who had actual intercourse with Mahāvīra and had complete knowledge of the Jaina Scriptures), who was a contemporary of Chandragupta, the founder of the Mauryan Empire. They say, further, that Chandragupta, who ceased to reign in B.C. 297 at the age of fifty, but of whose death the secular histories say nothing, laid aside his sovereignty to become a Jaina ascetic, and that he accompanied Bhadrabāhu to the south, and was the sole attendant permitted to remain with him when, feeling that his end was approaching, he ascended the smaller hill at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa and took the vow of *sallēkhana*, or renunciation of life by voluntary starvation. Some scholars, on the other hand, are of opinion that the Bhadrabāhu in question lived in the first century before Christ, and that the Digambara migration to the south took place then.

Whatever may be the actual historical facts, the tradition about Chandragupta has for thirteen hundred years or more been accepted as true by the Jainas. Śravaṇa Belgoḷa became a place of pilgrimage. Many devotees, both male and female, including some of royal rank, took the vow of euthanasia on the same hill; and their piety and endurance are recorded in numerous inscriptions on the rocky hillside. The hill became gradually covered with temples, the most ancient being one named after Chandragupta. In A.D. 983

a unique monument was dedicated on the adjoining hill. A colossal image, 57½ feet high, of a nude Jaina ascetic, was carved out of the living rock on the summit of the hill. With serene and placid features it has stood there for almost a thousand years looking over the plain, whence it is visible for many miles.

Principal Tenets.—The Jaina religion is an offspring of the same movement of thought as that which produced Buddhism; and the two religions have many points of similarity. In neither is any cognisance taken of a Supreme Being, Creator and Ruler of the World. The reverence of the worshipper is bestowed upon certain men, who are regarded as having by ascetic practices gained complete mastery over bodily passions. These men are called *Jinas*, or victors, and *Tīrthankaras* (or Tīrthakaras), that is, those who have crossed the ocean of human distraction and reached the shore of eternal placidity.[1] Twenty-four of these are especially named, the latest being Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, a slightly older contemporary of Gautama Buddha. The images of these Tīrthankaras are set up in the temples, and reverenced as embodying the Jaina ideal of the conquering life. The legendary accounts of their lives, showing how they attained their victory and in what powers it manifested itself, form the subject of many of the Jaina religious books. In choosing these as subjects for their poems they were actuated by the same motives as Milton when he wrote the *Paradise Lost*, or Cædmon when he sang of the *Creation*.

The following are the names of the Tirthankaras, who all bear the epithet of *Nātha*, "Lord":—

1. Rishabha	9. Pushpadanta	17. Kunthu
2. Ajita	10. Śītaḷa	18. Ara
3. Sambhava	11. Śrēyāmsa	19. Malli
4. Abhinandana	12. Vāsupūjya	20. Munisuvrata
5. Sumati	13. Vimaḷa	21. Nami
6. Padmaprabhu	14. Ananta	22. Nēmi
7. Supārśva	15. Dharma	23. Pārśva
8. Chandraprabhu	16. Śānti	24. Vardhamāna

[1] This was the original meaning. But modern Jainas use it in the sense of the Founder of the four *tīrthas* or orders (monks, nuns, lay-brothers and lay-sisters) that collectively constitute a Jaina Sangha. (Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, p. xv.)

It will thus be seen that the Jaina ideal was asceticism. Many, if not most, of the Jaina writers whose names appear in this book, were men who were not merely scholars, but also practised severe austerities. They are often spoken of as *munis* or *yatis*, *i.e.*, anchorites. The complete conquest of the weaknesses of the flesh expressed itself in the renunciation of clothing. The images in the Jaina temples of South India are all nude. The Jainas are divided into two sects, *Digambaras* ("space-clad"), who, on occasion and as far as possible, dispense with clothing altogether (as their founder, Mahāvīra, did); and *Śvētāmbaras* ("clad in white"), who qualify this extreme by wearing a white cloth as a concession to public opinion. The only strict Digambaras now living are compelled to reside in the seclusion of the forest.[1]

Outsiders are much struck with the extreme care of the Jainas not to destroy animal life. Jaina monks wear a muslin cloth over their mouth, lest they should inadvertently breathe in a gnat; and they carry a small brush with which to sweep the path in front of them, lest they tread on a creeping insect.

The Vow of Sallekhana (called in Gujarati, *Santhāro*[2]).—The most striking illustration of the self-repressive character of Jainism is the vow of *sallēkhana* referred to above. When old age, incurable disease, sore bereavement, disappointment, or any other cause, had taken away the joy of living, many resolute Jainas, like some Stoics of the West, would hasten Yama's tardy footsteps by taking the vow of euthanasia. In spite of the fact that the taking of life is the greatest sin conceivable to a Jaina, an exception was made in favour of the vow of voluntary starvation, which was looked upon as the highest proof of that victory over the bodily passions which made a perfect Jaina. From the earliest Christian centuries until the nineteenth century the practice has survived. The devotee would renounce all possessions and all earthly ties, and resort to the bare rocky hill at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa, immediately to the north of that on which the colossal statue of Gommata stands. There keeping his mind free,

[1] See Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, p. 80.

[2] ib., p. 220f.

on the one hand from relentings and on the other hand from impatience for death, and letting his thoughts dwell on those who had conquered the flesh before and had attained the state of the gods, he would simply await release by death. The rock is covered with inscriptions recording the steadfastness of those who have fulfilled the vow. Among them occur the names of royal personages. Indrarāja, the last of the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānyakhēta, being overwhelmed by the Western Chālukyas in A.D. 973, died by this vow at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa in 982. When Vishṇuvardhana's queen, Śāntala Dēvi, died childless, at the very same time as her father also died, the widowed mother, Machikabbe, was disconsolate, and the more so that her son-in-law had abandoned the Jaina faith for Vaishṇavism. So she took the vow, and after severe fasting for one month, passed away. Of the numerous inscriptions upon the rock, some consist only of a single line. Others are more or less lengthy and florid. The first to be deciphered may be rendered as follows:—

Swift fading as the rainbow's hue
Or lightning flash or morning dew,
To whom do pleasure wealth and fame
For many years remain the same?
Then why should I, whose thoughts aspire
To reach the highest good, desire
Here on the earth long days to spend?

Reflecting thus within his mind,
The noble Nandi Sen
All ties that bound to life resigned,
To quit this world of pain.
And so this best of anchorites
The World of Gods did gain.[1]

Syádváda.—Jainas always speak of their philosophical system under the name of *Syādvāda*. Their disputants glory in the conquering power of this doctrine, and their inscriptions are invariably prefaced with the śloka given at the head of this chapter, and in which the doctrine is extolled. *Syād* is the Sanskrit for "it may perhaps be," and

[1] For the text of the original see Appendix.

Syādvāda may be rendered, "the affirmation of alternative possibilities," but it is a highly technical term. Its meaning may be understood from the following passage in Dr. Bhandarkar's *Search for Jaina Scriptures* (pp. 95 ff.), to which Jainas often refer for its exposition:—

"You can affirm existence of a thing from one point of view (*Syād asti*), deny it from another (*Syān nāsti*); and affirm both existence and non-existence with reference to it at different times (*Syād asti nāsti*). If you should think of affirming both existence and non-existence at the same time from the same point of view, you must say that the thing cannot be so spoken of (*Syād avaktavyaḥ*). Similarly under certain circumstances the affirmation of existence is not possible (*Syād asti avaktavyaḥ*); of non-existence (*Syān nāsti avaktavyaḥ*); and also of both (*Syād asti nāsti avaktavyaḥ*). What is meant by these seven modes is that a thing should not be considered as existing everywhere, at all times, in all ways, and in the form of everything. It may exist in one place and not in another, and at one time and not at another."

"For example, one and the same man may be spoken of under different relations as father, uncle, father-in-law, son, son-in-law, brother and grandfather."[1]

Decline.—From about 1000 A.D. the predominance of Jainism began slowly to wane. This was due to a series of causes. First, the influence of Śankarāchārya, whose inimical teaching gained ground during the ninth and tenth centuries. Second, the fall of the Ganga kingdom of Talkād (1004) and the wide conquests and hegemony of the Chola kings, who were bitterly hostile to Jainas. Rāja Chola is said to have ravaged the country as far as Puligere, destroying Jaina temples and monasteries. Third, the conversion of the Ballāl rāja to the Vaishṇava faith about 1100. Fourth, the revival of Vīra-śaivism under Basava of Kalyāṇa, about 1160, together with the overthrow of the Kālachuryas (1190). Fifth, the teaching of Madhvāchārya in the thirteenth century, which gave a powerful impetus to Vaishṇavism. Sixth, the rise of the strong Brahmanical kingdom of Vijayanagar in the fourteenth century. And finally, in the sixteenth century, a wave of Vaishṇava enthusiasm, inspired by Chaitanya preaching the doctrine of Krishṇa-

[1] Quoted from Mrs. Stevenson's *Heart of Jainism*, p. 92. See also *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. vii, S. V. *Jainism*.

bhakti, swept over the peninsula, and completed the alienation of the people from the austere teaching of the Jainas. But despite this change in the attitude of the people, many works continued to be written by Jainas; though their learned men lived in retirement and no longer enjoyed the patronage of courts. Shortly after 1800 one of these learned men, named Dēvachandra, of Maleyur, wrote for a lady of the Mysore royal family a prose work, entitled *Rājāvaḷi Kathe*, which is an interesting compendium of Jaina traditions in South India.

WRITERS PREVIOUS TO THE KAVIRĀJAMĀRGA (C. 850)

The earliest extant Kanarese work of which the date is known is the *Kavi-rājamārga*, or "The Royal Road of the Poets." This has been frequently attributed to the Rāshṭrakūṭa king, Nṛipatunga, and is commonly spoken of as Nṛipatunga's *Kavirājamārga*. But it is his only in the sense in which the English Authorised Version of the Bible is called King James' Version. Its real author was a poet at Nṛipatunga's court, whose name appears to have been Śrīvijaya. Nṛipatunga ruled from Mānyakhēta A.D. 814-877, and was a contemporary of Alfred the Great. The middle of the ninth century, therefore, forms a starting point in the record of Kanarese literature. Whatever was written in Kanarese previous to that date has either not been hitherto recovered, or is not of ascertained date.

The middle of the ninth century, however, is far from being the date of the beginning of Kanarese literature. We have abundant information of a large number of earlier writers, extending back into earlier centuries. The *Kavirājamārga* itself mentions by name eight or ten writers in prose and verse, saying these are but a few of many; and it quotes, discusses and criticises illustrative stanzas from other poets whose names are not mentioned. Moreover, the character of the book, which is a trēatise on the methods of the poets (see p. 82), itself implies that poetical literature was already of long standing and widely known and appreciated. The author testifies expressly (I, 38, 39), that "in the Kanarese country, not students only, but the people

generally have natural quickness in the use and understanding of verse."

In the present chapter such information will be given as is available, not of all, but of the more notable, of these earlier poets, copies of whose works have not yet come to light.

Early Kanarese writers regularly mention three poets as of especial eminence among their predecessors. These are Samanta-bhadra, Kavi Paramēshṭhi and Pūjyapāda. These are apparently not among those named in the *Kavirājamārga*. We are not absolutely certain that they wrote in Kanarese; we know only of their Sanskrit works, Sanskrit being the learned language of that time as Latin was of the Middle Ages in Europe. But inasmuch as they are so uniformly named by later Kanarese writers as eminent poets, it is probable that they wrote in Kanarese also; and what we know of them should be recorded here.

Samanta-bhadra is by Jaina tradition placed in the second century. He was a brilliant disputant, and a great preacher of the Jaina religion throughout India. Pāṭaliputra (Patna), Thakka (in the Panjab), Sindh, Malwa, Karahataka (Karhad in Sātāra district), Vānārasi (Benares), and Kānchi are especially mentioned as among the places he visited. It was the custom in those days, alluded to by Fa Hiān (400) and Hiuen Tsang (630), for a drum to be fixed in a public place in the city, and any learned man, wishing to propagate a doctrine or prove his erudition and skill in debate, would strike it by way of challenge to disputation, much as Luther nailed up his theses on the door of the church at Wittenberg. Samantabhadra made full use of this custom, and powerfully maintained the Jaina doctrine of Syādvāda. It is told of him that in early life he performed severe penance, and on account of a depressing disease was about to make the vow of *sallēkhana*, or starvation; but was dissuaded by his guru, who foresaw that he would be a great pillar of the Jaina faith. He is said to have converted Śivakoti, the king of Kānchi, from Saivism, by some miraculous performance in the Kānchi temple. Old Kanarese commentaries on some of his Sanskrit works still exist, but of any Kanarese works by him we have no trace.

Pūjyapāda, also called Devanandi, belongs to the end of the fifth century, as he appears to have been preceptor to the Ganga king, and author, Durvinīta, who ruled from Talkād, A.D. 482-522. He was a Jaina *muni*, or anchorite, who practised yoga, and was believed to have acquired the extraordinary psychic powers which yogis claim. He is said to have visited Behar. He wrote a Jaina philosophy; but his fame rests on his grammatical works. He not only wrote a commentary on Pāṇini, called *Pāṇini Śabdāvatāra*, but he composed a Sanskrit grammar of his own, entitled *Jainendra*, which obtained great repute (see below, p. 84). One of his disciples, Vajranandi, is said to have founded a Tamil sangha in Madura.

Concerning *Kaviparamēshṭhi* less is known. He probably lived in the fourth century. He may possibly be the same as the *Kavīśvara* referred to in the *Kavirājamārga*, and as the *Kaviparamēśvara* praised by Chāvunda Rāya (978) and Nemichandra (1170), all these names having the same meaning and possibly being only epithets.

Whether or not the above trio wrote in Kanarese, there is information about many other writers who certainly did. Among these especial mention should be made of *Śrīvarddhadeva*, called also from his birthplace *Tumbulūrācharyā*, who wrote a great work called *Chūdāmaṇi* ("Crest Jewel"). It was a commentary on the Tattvārtha Mahāśāstra, and extended to 96,000 verses. Two facts make clear the greatness of this work. An inscription of A.D. 1128 (E. C. II, No. 54) quotes a couplet by the well-known Sanskrit poet, Dandin, of the sixth century, highly praising its author, Śrīvarddhadeva, as having "produced Sarasvati [*i.e.*, learning and eloquence] from the tip of his tongue, as Śiva produced the Ganges from the tip of his top-knot." And Bhaṭṭākalanka, the great Kanarese grammarian (1604), refers to the book as the greatest work in the language, and as incontestable proof of the scholarly character and value of Kanarese literature. If the author of the couplet quoted is correctly given as Dandin, Śrīvarddhadeva must have been earlier than the sixth century. It is unfortunate that no copy has yet been found of this great work, which

appears to have been still in existence in Bhaṭṭākalanka's time.

Other early writers mentioned in the *Kavirājamārga*, but whose works are lost, are *Vimala*, *Udaya*, *Nāgārjuna*, *Jayabandhu*, *Durvinīta*, *Śrīvijaya*. For such fragmentary information as is available of these, the Kanarese student is referred to the *Karṇāṭaka Kavi Charite*. Mention may also be made of *Guṇanandi* (900 c.), quoted by the grammarian, Bhaṭṭākalanka, and always called by him *bhagavān*, "the adorable"; he was the author of a logic, grammar and sāhitya.

Durvinīta is apparently to be indentified with the Ganga king of that name, who ruled 482-522. He is stated in inscriptions to have been the pupil of the author of the *Śabdāvatāra*, *i.e.*, of Devanandi Pūjyapāda, and to have written a commentary on the difficult 15th *sarga* of Bhāravi's *Kirātārjunīya*.[1] Concerning Bhāravi's date it is only known that it was earlier than 610, when he is mentioned along with Kālidāsa as a famous poet. If he was a contemporary of Kālidāsa, he would belong to the fifth century.

Although none of the books mentioned in this chapter have yet come to light, some may still be discovered; for there are old Jaina libraries which have been jealously guarded from alien eyes (sometimes buried below ground) and whose contents are not yet fully known.

Stanzas from the Kavirājamārga. A.D. 850

THE KANARESE COUNTRY AND PEOPLE

In all the circle of the earth
No fairer land you'll find,
Than that where rich sweet Kannaḍa
Voices the people's mind.
'Twixt sacred rivers twain it lies—
From famed Godāvari,

[1] This *sarga* contains a number of stanzas illustrating all kinds of verbal tricks, like those described in Dandin's *Kāvyādarśa* ("Mirror of Poesy," end of sixth century), *e.g.*, stanza 14 contains no consonant but *n* except a *t* at the end (*Na nonanunno nunnono*, etc.); and in stanza 25, each half-line if read backwards is identical (*Dēvākā nini ḳāvādē*, etc.). Macdonell's *History of Sanskrit Literature*,

To where the pilgrim rests his eyes
On holy Kāveri.

If you would hear its purest tone,
To Kisuvōlal go;
Or listen to the busy crowds
Through Kōp'na's streets which flow;
Or seek it in Onkunda's walls,
So justly famed in song.
Or where in Puligere's court
The learned scholars throng.

The people of that land are skilled
To speak in rhythmic tone;
And quick to grasp a poet's thought,
So kindred to their own.
Not students only, but the folk
Untutored in the schools,
By instinct use and understand
The strict poetic rules. (I. 36-39.)

The original of the first line in the above verses may be quoted as a specimen of the Alliteration, which forms one of the graces of Kanarese poetical composition, but which cannot be reproduced in a translation.

Vasudhā vilaya vilīna visada viśhaya viśēsham.

JAINA WRITERS FROM THE KAVIRĀJAMĀRGA TO THE LINGĀYAT REVIVAL (1160)

The earliest author of which we have information after the Kavirājamārga was *Guṇavarma I*, who wrote under the patronage of a Ganga king bearing the title Mahēndrāntaka, and therefore identical with Ereyappa, 886-913. He wrote a *Harivaṁśa* or *Nēmināṭha Purāṇa*, and also a book called *Śūdraka*.

Three poets of the tenth century are sometimes spoken of as the *Three Gems*. These are Pampa, Ponna and Ranna. They are all highly praised by later Kanarese poets. It would appear, indeed, that the tenth century was a somewhat brilliant period of Kanarese literature, which enjoyed then the patronage of the Mānyakhēta and Ganga kings.

Pampa, who will be called *Ādi Pampa* to distinguish him from a later poet, was born in 902. He belonged to a

Brahman family of Vengi; his father, however, abandoned the Brahmanical faith for Jainism. The son was adopted as court poet by a scion of the Chālukya dynasty, named Arikēśari. Nothing more is known of this prince. As, at the date of the poem, the Chālukya dynasty had been superseded by the Rāshṭrakūṭas, it is probable that he was only a subordinate princeling. The only clue as to where he lived is the fact that he rewarded the poet with the grant of the village of Dharmapura, which was in the Bacche Thousand. Mr. R. Narasimhacharya represents him as ruling at Puligere (Lakshmēśvara); but Dr. Fleet thinks he may have been in Vengi. It was in 941, when he was thirty-nine years of age, that the poet composed in a single year the two poems which have made his name famous, and which he says were intended to popularise what to the Jainas were sacred and secular history, respectively. The first book was the *Ādi Purāṇa*, and relates the history of the first Tīrthakara. Mr. Narasimhacharya, than whom there could be no better judge, and who has himself written Kanarese poetry, praises it as "unequalled in style among the Kanarese poets."

In his next work, called *Vikramārjuna Vijaya*, but often spoken of as the *Pampa Bhārata*, he tells the story of the Mahābhārata from the birth of the Pāṇḍavas to the slaughter of the Kauravas and the coronation of Arjuna. The poet states in his preface that there had been many versions of the Bhārata story before his, but the learned men of the court told him that none were so qualified as he to retell it acceptably. It is probable that the success of his first work had brought him great favour and liberal largess from his patron. For that prince is throughout the poem identified with Arjuna, and is its real hero—somewhat as Queen Elizabeth was the Gloriana of the *Faerie Queen*. No praise is too fulsome to be applied to his patron, who is compared to Vishṇu, Siva, the Sun, Cupid, etc. This flattery mars the beauty of the work, although the poem has the advantage of being less Sanskritic in vocabulary than the earlier one. The author was rewarded with the grant of a village.[1]

[1] There were doubtless other Jaina versions of the Bhārata story. Thirty-seven stanzas quoted in the *Kāvyāvalōkana* (c. 1145) seem to

Contemporary with Pampa was *Ponna*, a Jaina who wrote both in Sanskrit and Kanarese, and hence received the honorific title of Ubhaya-Kavi-Chakravarti ("Imperial Poet in Two Realms"). This title was given to him by his patron, the Rāshṭrakūṭa king, Krishnarāja (called also Akālavarsha and Anupama), who was ruling at Mānyakhēta, 939-968. The poet's fame rests chiefly on his *Śānti Purāṇa*, which records the legendary history of the 16th Tīrthankara. It was written at the suggestion of two brothers, who later became generals under a succeeding king, Tailapa, to commemorate the attainment of nirvāṇa (*paroksha vinaya*) by their guru, Jinachandradēva. He was also the author of the *Jināksharamāle*, an acrostic poem in praise of the Jinas. Other works attributed to him have not been recovered.

Ranna, the third member of the trio, was a Vaiśya of the bangle-seller's caste. Mr. Narasimhacharya speaks in high praise of his skill, fluency and fascinating style. He wrote under the patronage of two Western Chālukya kings, Tailapa (973-997), and his successor (997-1008), and from them received various titles of honour. Their court was at Mānyakhēta. The poet's first work was the *Ajita Purāṇa*, a history of the second Tīrthankara, written in 993. It was composed at the suggestion of a devout lady, the daughter of one of the two patrons of Ponna.

In his second work, *Sāhasa Bhīma Vijaya*, he tells the story of how Bhīma fulfilled his vow to break the limbs of Duryodhana with his club and slay him. But throughout the poem his royal patron, Āhavamalla, whose name lent itself to the comparison, is likened to Bhīma, and becomes the real hero. Other works attributed to this poet have been lost.

Chāvuṇḍa[1] *Rāya*, who was the patron of Ranna and a contemporary of the "Three Gems," was himself an author, and in other respects a very remarkable personage. He was a minister of the Ganga king, Rāchamalla IV (974-984), and a general who by bravery in many battles had gained numerous titles of distinction. It was he who at enormous

be from some Bhārata, as well as thirteen from some Rāmāyaṇa. A *Jina Bhārata*, by Brahma Kavi, was printed in Bangalore in 1887, and may belong to the fifteenth century.

[1] Chāmuṇḍā in Sanskrit.

cost had the colossal statue of Gommateswara executed at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa, and it was in recognition of this act of munificence that he received the title of Rāya. He was also a patron of the poet Ranna, and himself has gained a place in the history of literature by a prose work, entitled *Trishashṭi-lakshaṇa Mahā-purāṇa*, but better known as *Chāvuṇḍarāya Purāṇa*, containing a complete history of all the 24 Tīrthankaras. The book is of special interest and value, because it is the oldest extant specimen of a book written in continuous prose, and therefore enables us to gain a knowledge of the language as spoken in the tenth century. It is dated 978.

About 984 Nāgavarma I, the distinguished grammarian, wrote the *Chhandombudhi*, or "Ocean of Prosody," which is still the standard work on Kanarese prosody. It is interesting to note that it is addressed by the author to his wife, and that each verse is composed so as to be an example of the metre described in it. To him we also owe the Kanarese *Kādambari*, which relates the fortunes of a princess of that name. It is a champu version of the well-known Sanskrit poem by Bāna. The author's family had come from Vengi, but he is spoken of as a man of Sayyadi, which is said to be a village in the Kisukāḍu Nāḍ (*i.e.*, near Pattadakal; see map). He states that he wrote under the king Rakkasa Ganga, who was reigning in 984. He was patronised by, and is even thought by some to be the younger brother of, Chāvuṇḍa Rāya.

In the eleventh century there are not many names of Kanarese writers. This was, perhaps, owing to the disturbed condition of the country caused by the Chola invasions, in which the country was ravaged and many Jaina shrines were destroyed.

After the cessation of the invasions, c. 1079, we have *Chandrarāja*, who, under the patronage of Māchi Rāja, a general of the Chālukya king, Jayasimha, wrote the *Madana-tilaka*, a short poem remarkable on account of its many ingenious stanzas capable of scansion in various ways, or showing feats of literary manipulation of sounds and words. (See *Karṇāṭaka Kavi Charite*, pp. 74-77.)

To about the same time belongs *Nāgavarmāchārya* of Balipura (Belgāmi, in Shimoga district), where he built temples and bathing ghats. He appears to have been a devoutly religious man. His *Chandra Chūdāmaṇi Śataka* is a cento of verses in praise of detachment (*vairāgya*); it sometimes bears the name of *Jnāna-sāra.*

To about 1100 belongs *Nāgachandra*, or *Abhinava Pampa* (the "Second Pampa"), of whom special mention must be made, both for the merit of his style and the unique value of one of his works. Little is known of his personal history; but the statement is probably to be accepted that he was one of a group of poets at the court of the Ballāl rāja, Biṭṭi Deva, the same who afterwards became a Vaishṇava and took the name of Vishṇuvardhana (1104-1141). He wrote the *Mallināṭha Purāṇa*, giving the story of the 19th Tirthankara, a work which reveals great descriptive power.

But especial interest attaches to his *Rāmachandra Charitra Purāṇa*, commonly known as the *Pampa Rāmāyaṇa*, which was written as a pendant to the *Pampa Bhārata* of his predecessor. This work has unique value, because it preserves for us a Jaina version of the Rāmayāṇa, which differs in important respects from the Brahmanical version. While the main thread of the narrative coincides with that of the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa, there is very wide difference in details.

The following are some of the more noteworthy differences:—

The whole atmosphere is Jaina. India throughout appears as a Jaina country. No reference is made to Brahmans or Brahmanism. The hermits in the forest are Jaina *yatis*. Rāma, Rāvaṇa and all the characters are Jaina, and generally end their career as Jaina yatis.

The Rākshasas are only occasionally called by that name. They are generally styled *vidyādharas* (*i.e.*, beings having the power of movement through the air). In fact, all the inhabitants of the earth belong to one or other of two classes, *khēcharas* (movers through the air) and *bhūcharas* (walkers on the earth), *i.e.*, jinns and men.

In place of the supernatural and grotesque marvels of the Brahmanic story we have a natural and comparatively credible narrative. For example, Sugrīva, Hanumanta and their followers are not monkeys, but human beings whose standard bears the figure of a

monkey (*vānara-dhvaja*).[1] No bridge is built across the sea to Lanka with the torn-off tops of mountains; the army is transported across the water through the air by *nabhōgamana vidya*, "as though" on a bridge (XII, 91). Rāvaṇa received the name "ten-headed" not because he really had ten heads, but because when he was born his face was seen reflected on the ten facets of a jewel-mirror which was in the room.

Rāma and Lakshmaṇa are not incarnations of Vishṇu (there is, of course no horse-sacrifice), but are called *kārana purushas, i.e.*, beings with a special destiny. They are ultimately identified with the eighth Baladeva and Vāsudeva. Lakshmaṇa is called Krishṇa, Keśava, Achyuta. Throughout the wanderings of the exile he is the champion and warrior on behalf of Rāma, and performs all the great exploits; and finally it is by his weapon that Rāvaṇa is slain.

The minor details and episodes differ considerably from the corresponding ones in Vālmīki. For example, Lakshmaṇa and Satrughna have different mothers. Rāma's mother is not called Kausalyā, but Aparājitā. Sītā has a twin brother named Prabhāmaṇḍala, who was stolen away in infancy, and only discovered his relationship when wishing to compete for Sītā's hand. Nothing is said of Rāvaṇa's being invulnerable by gods and demi-gods.

Other Jaina versions of the Rāmāyaṇa exist in Kanarese. The chief of these are the *Kumudēndu Rāmāyaṇa* in shaṭpadi (c. 1275), and the *Rāmakathāvatāra* in prose by Dēvachandra (c. 1797). The story is also found, more briefly, in *Chāvunḍa Rāya Purāṇa* (978), Nayasena's *Dharmāmrita* (1112), and Nāgarāja's *Puṇyāśrava* (1331), and other works. A detailed comparison of these would be interesting.

The Jaina account of the origin of the story is that it was first told by Vrishabhasēna to Bharata; and, later, by Gautama, president of an assembly of rishis, to the king of Magadha in the presence of the last Tīrthankara Vardhamāna, B.C. 527; since whose time it has been handed down through an unbroken series of gurus.

Other poets at the court of the Ballāl Rāja at Dorasamudra at the same time as Nāgachandra were Kanti and Rājāditya.

Kanti is the earliest known Kanarese poetess, and was of the Jaina faith. 'Kanti' is the name given to Jaina nuns or female devotees. It is related that the king, to test her

[1] It is interesting to remember that the standard of the Kadambas was a flag bearing the figure of a monkey, and called *Vānaradhvaja*.

skill, made Nāgachandra recite half a stanza, which Kanti would immediately complete; somewhat after a fashion recently current in England of completing "Limericks." A further story, but less probable, is told of how Nāgachandra laid a wager that he would compel Kanti to eulogise him in verse. To effect this purpose he pretended to swoon, and feigned death. When the poetess, struck with sorrow, had pronounced on him a panegyric, he sprang up and claimed to have won his wager.

Rājāditya, a Jaina of Pāvinabāge, is remarkable inasmuch as he devoted his poetical talents to the elucidation of mathematical subjects. With extraordinary skill he reduced to verse rules and problems in arithmetic, mensuration and kindred subjects. His writings are the earliest works on these subjects in the Kanarese language.

In the twelfth century the following authors call for mention—

Nayasēna (1112) wrote a grammar, which unfortunately has not survived. But he is known by a book on Morals, entitled *Dharmāmṛita*, in which he discourses in easy and pleasant style through 14 chapters on as many forms of virtue, including courage, truthfulness, chastity, justice, etc. He says in the preface that he has set himself to avoid the needless use of Sanskrit terms, which was a fault of many contemporary poets. His work was written in Mulugunda, in the Dharwar district; its date is 1112.

Nāgavarma II (about 1120) was the author of two important grammatical works, *Kāvyāvalokana* and *Karṇāṭaka Bhāshā Bhūshaṇa*. On these see p. 83. He came from Vengi, and resided in the Kanarese country.

Brahma Siva (c. 1125), in a book called *Samaya-parīksha*, points out the defects of rival creeds, and justifies the Jaina position.

Kīrtivarma (c. 1125) wrote in verse a text book on the diseases of cattle, entitled *Go-vaidya*.

Karṇapārya (c. 1140) wrote, among other works, a *Nēmināṭha Purāṇa*, or history of the 22nd Tirthankara. He contrives to introduce into it the stories of Krishṇa, the Pāṇdavas and the War of the Mahābhārata.

Vṛitta-vilāsa (c. 1160) made a Kanarese version in champu of a Sanskrit work by Amitagati, entitled *Dharma-parīkshe.* It relates to two Kshatriya princes who went to Benares, and in successive meetings with the Brahmans there exposed the vices of the gods, as related in the sacred books (*e.g.*, it is shown that not one of the gods is fit to be trusted with the care of a girl), and the incredibility of such stories as that of Hanumanta and his monkeys. By these discussions their faith in Jainism is confirmed.

Durgasimha (c. 1145), although not a Jaina, may most conveniently be mentioned here. He was a Smārta Brahman of Sayyadi in the Kisukāḍu-nāḍ. He held office under the Chālukya king, Jagadēkamalla (1139-1149). He wrote a *Panchatantra* in champu, basing it professedly on Guṇāḍhya, whom he speaks of as a poet of the court of Śālivāhana.

Illustrative Extract from the Pampa Rāmāyaṇa, A.D. 1105 c

HOW RĀVAṆA SOUGHT THE AID OF MAGIC IN ORDER TO OVERCOME RĀMA

The following attempt to reproduce, in abridged form, the spirit of a passage in the Pampa Rāmāyaṇa (XIV, 75-105) will serve to illustrate (i) the Jaina atmosphere of the poem; (ii) its serious ethical tone; (iii) the nature of the *champu* style of composition—mingled prose and verse—the verse being of various metres.

Hearing of Lakshmaṇa's perfect reccvery from his wound, and of his preparation for a fresh attack, Rāvaṇa's ministers advised him to send Sītā back to her rightful lord, and to make an alliance with Rāma; adding that he could not hope for victory, as Rāma and Lakshmaṇa were stronger than he, and unconquerable. Thereat Rāvaṇa was greatly enraged, and said:—

"Shall I, who made e'en Swarga's lord
Before my feet to fall,
Now meekly yield me,—overawed
By this mere princeling small?
Nay, better 'twere, if so must be,
My life be from me reft.

I still could boast, what most I prize,
A warrior's honour left.

Natheless, to make my victory sure,
I'll have recourse to magic lore.
There is a spell, the shastras tell,
Which multiplies the form.
If this rare power I may attain,
I'll seem to haunt the battle-plain.
My 'wildered enemies shall see,
Before, behind, to left, to right,
'Phantasmal Rāvans crowd to fight,
Whom darts shall strike in vain.
Its name is *bahu-rūpiṇī*.
'Tis won by stern austerity."

That nothing might impede him in the acquiring of this magic power, Rāvaṇa issued orders that throughout Lanka and its territories no animal life should on any account be taken; that his warriors should for a time desist from fighting; and that all his subjects should be diligent in performing the rites of *Jaina pūjā*.

Then entered he the Jaina fane
His palace walls within.
Attendant priests before him bore
The sacred vessels, as prescribed
In books of holy lore.
And there to lord Śāntīśvara
He lowly reverence paid;
Omitting no due ritual
That might secure his aid.

After worship had been performed with due solemnity, he took a vow of silent meditation; and seating himself in the *padmāsana* posture, began a course of rigorous concentration of mind and suppression of the bodily senses.

And there he sat, like statue fixed;
And not a wandering thought was mixed
With his abstraction deep.
Upon his hand a chaplet hung,
With beads of priceless value strung,
And on it he did ceaseless tell
The mantras that would serve him well.

When Vibhīshana learned through spies what Rāvaṇa was doing, he hastened to Rāma, and urged him to attack and slay Rāvaṇa before he could fortify himself with this new and formidable power. But Rāma replied:—

"Rāvaṇ has sought Jinēndra's aid
In true religious form.

It is not meet that we should fight
With one engaged in holy rite,
His weapons laid aside.
I do not fear his purpose fell.
No magic spell can serve him well
Who steals his neighbour's bride."

Vibhīshaṇa and Angada are disappointed with this reply, and resolve to try and break Rāvaṇa's devotions without the knowledge of Rāma. So they send to disturb him some of the monkey-bannered troops.

They rush toward the town in swarms upon swarms:
They trample the corn, and they damage the farms;
They frighten and chevy the maidens about;
And all through the temple they shriek and they shout,
And make a most fearful din.
But Rāvaṇa stirred not;—as still as a stone,
His mind was intent on his *japa* alone.

Then the *yakshas*, or guardian spirits of the Jina shrine, interpose, drive forth the intruders, and appeal to Rāma and Lakshmaṇa to withdraw them. Finally it is arranged that anything may be done to break Rāvaṇa's devotions, so long as his life is not taken and the palace and temples are not destroyed.

Then Angada, heir to Kishkindha's wide soil,
Determines himself Rāvaṇ's penance to spoil.
He mounts on Kishkindha, his elephant proud;
And round him his ape-bannered followers crowd.
He rides through the suburbs of Lanka's fair town,
Admiring its beauty, its groves of renown.
He enters the palace, goes alone to the fane;
With reverence he walks round Śāntiśvara's shrine,
And in lowliness worships the image divine.
When—sudden—he sees giant Rāvaṇa there,
Seated still as some mountain, absorbed in his prayer!
Surprised and indignant, in anger he speaks:
"What! miscreant, hypocrite, villain! dost *thou*
"In holiest temple thy proud forehead bow—
"Who hast right ways forsaken, thy lineage disgraced,
"The good hast imprisoned, the harmless oppressed,
"And hast snatched from thy neighbour his virtuous wife,
"How canst *thou* dare to pray in Śāntiśvara's hall!
"Better think on thy misdeeds, and turn from them all,
"Know by Rāma's keen arrows in death thou shalt fall;
"And no magical rite the dread doom can forestall.
"When the flames round thy palace leap higher and higher,
"Too late thou digg'st wells to extinguish the fire!"

Thus saying, he tore off Rāvaṇa's upper garment and smote him with it; he scattered the beads of his chaplet upon the ground; he

stripped Rāvaṇa's queen of her jewels, and slandered her sorely; he tied her maidens in pairs by the hair of their heads; he snatched off their necklaces and hung them round the necks of the Jaina images; and he defied and insulted Rāvaṇa in every possible way.

The poor trembling women were frantic with fear,
And tried to rouse Rāvaṇ. They bawled in his ear—
"What's the good of thy *japa?* Rise, save us from shame!
"Rise quickly and fight for thine ancient good name."

But Rāvaṇa heard not, nor muscle did move,—
As fixed as the Pole Star in heaven above.

Then a thunderbolt's crash rent the firmament wide;
And adown the bright flash did a *yakshinī* glide,
And swiftly took station at Rāvaṇa's side.
"I have come at thy bidding," the visitant said,
"I can lay on the field all thine enemies dead;—
"Save Hanumān, Lakshmaṇ and Rāma divine,
"Who are guarded by might that is greater than mine."

"Alas!" answered Rāvaṇa, with spirit depressed,
"If those three remain, what availeth the rest?"

IV.

THE RISE OF LINGĀYATISM

A.D. 1160

Namas tunga-śiras-chumbi-chandra-chāmara-chārave
Trailokya-nagar-ārambha-mūla-stambhāya Śambhave.

"Adoration to Śambhu (Śiva), adorned with the moon lightly resting like a royal plume upon his lofty head—to Him who is the foundation pillar for the building of the City of the Three Worlds." This, the opening verse of Bāna's *Harsha-charita*, is usually placed at the commencement of Śaiva inscriptions.

Basava and the Early Apostles of Lingáyatism.—Basava, the reputed founder of the Lingāyat faith, but really only its reviver and propagandist, was an Ārādhya Brahman. He was born at Bāgavādi in the Kalādgi district, but was taken to reside at Kappadi at the junction of the Malaprabhā and the Krishna, where there is a shrine dedicated to Śiva under the name of Sangamēśvara, "Lord of the Confluence." Here he is said to have become conscious of a call to revive the Vīra-śaiva faith. His first wife was the daughter of his maternal uncle, the prime minister of Bijjala, the Kalachuri king, who ruled at Kalyāṇa, 1156-1167. When his father-in-law died, Basava was invited to succeed him as prime minister. The Jainas say that Basava owed his position and influence largely to his having a very beautiful sister, Padmāvatī, whom the king became enamoured with and married; and that the king gave himself up to the charms of his bride and left the reins of power in his minister's hands. Basava had another sister, Nāgalambike, who had a son named Channa Basava. In concert with him Basava began to propound his new doctrine and new mode of worshipping Śiva. He speedily gained a large number of

followers, and appointed many priests, who were called Jangamas. Having charge of the king's treasury, he spent large amounts in supporting these Jangamas. Bijjala had another minister, a Brahman, named Manchaṇṇa, who vigorously opposed Basava, and accused him of embezzlement. The king tried to arrest Basava, but he fled, and being joined by numerous adherents, defeated the king, who was compelled to reinstate him in all his dignities. There was, however, no real reconciliation, and Basava instigated some of his followers to take the king's life. The Lingāyats say that the king, having wanted to put out the eyes of two Lingāyat devotees, Basava pronounced a curse upon Kalyāṇa, and directed one of his disciples to slay the king. The Jaina version is that when the king was returning from a military expedition, and was encamped on the banks of the Bhima River, Basava sent him a poisoned fruit. Whichever story is true, the king lost his life through Basava. The king's son determined to avenge his father's death; whereupon Basava fled to Ulavi, at the foot of the Western Ghats, where he was besieged, and in despair threw himself into a well. The Lingāyat account is that he escaped to Sangamēśvara and was absorbed into the temple linga there.[1]

Channa Basava surrendered all his uncle's property to the king's son, and was again admitted to favour. He henceforth became the sole leader of the Lingāyats.

Myths afterwards gathered round Basava's name, and later generations regarded him as an incarnation of Nandi, the vehicle of Śiva, and as having worked numerous and wonderful miracles. All these things will be found written in the *Basava Purāṇa* (1369), the *Mahā Basava Purāṇa* (fifteenth century), and the *Vṛishabhēndra Vijaya* (1671), this last being by Shaḍakshari Deva, the author of the famous *Rājaśēkhara*. (See below, under *Basava Purāṇa*.)

To Basava are attributed some prose works expository of the Lingāyat faith, *viz.*, *Shaṭ-sthala-vachana*, or "Discourses on the Six Stages of Salvation"; *Kāla-jnāna-vachana*, "Forecasts of the Future"; *Mantra-gopya*, *Ghaṭachakra-vachana* and *Rāja-yoga-vachana*.

[1] The Jaina account is found in the *Vijjala Rāja Charitra;* the Lingāyat account in the *Basava Purāna*.

He was aided in his propaganda by a large number of writers who flooded the country with books expounding and extolling the new creed. The remarkably rapid success of the propaganda was largely due to the fact that these books were for the most part in simple prose, intelligible to all, or in easy verse, requiring no learning to understand, and set to popular airs. We may, perhaps, compare the effect produced in England in the fourteenth century by Wycliffe and his preachers. The books generally had simple titles explanatory of their contents; and often the same title, *e.g.*, *Shaṭ-sthala-vachana* or *Kāla-jnāna-vachana*, is given to books of the same character by different writers.

These apostles of Vīra-śaivism are too numerous to be named here. Among them it is interesting to find the name of Nīlamma, one of the wives of Basava. The greatest of Basava's associates was Channa Basava, already mentioned. It appears that, even during Basava's lifetime, Channa Basava was in some respects superior to his uncle, and that the religious portion of the movement was mainly under his direction. In him the *praṇava*, or sacred syllable *Om*, is said to have become incarnate, to teach the doctrine of the Vira-śaiva faith to Basava; and whereas Basava is represented as an incarnation of Nandi, Channa Basava was Śiva himself.

Other leading associates of Basava were Maḍivāla Machayya, Prabhudeva and Siddharāma, which last is mentioned as having made a tank and consecrated many lingas at Sonnalige. Of all these early apostles of Lingāyatism wonderful and miraculous stories were afterwards told, which are the subjects of the *Channa Basava Purāṇa* (1585), the *Maḍivālayya Sāngatya*, the *Prabhuliṅga-līle* (c. 1460), the *Siddharāma Purāṇa*, and other works.

Notes on Lingáyatism.—It will be helpful at this stage to give a brief account of the characteristic features of the Lingāyat religion and the technical terms which it employs. This will make intelligible the titles of Lingāyat works, and give some indication of their contents; and also shed light on other references to their literature.

Lingāyatism, or Vīra-śaivism, did not originate, as is often mistakenly thought, with Basava in the twelfth century. He was only a propagator and reformer of what had been from ancient times one form of religious faith and practice. Unlike some who call themselves Śaivas, Lingāyats are worshippers of Śiva exclusively. But this exclusive worship of Śiva is not peculiar to them. The one thing which is their peculiar characteristic is the wearing always, somewhere on the person, of a linga, *i.e.*, a small black cylindrical stone representing the phallus, but symbolic of the deity. This is generally kept in a silver or wooden reliquary (*karaḍige*) suspended from the neck. The Jangamas, or Lingāyat "religious," wear it on their head. The investiture with the linga is the most sacred rite of childhood; the linga is taken out and held in the palm of the hand for worship, but must on no account be parted with throughout life. Lingāyats are strictly vegetarian in diet, and on this account all other castes, except Brahmans, will eat food cooked by them. As they do not admit Brahman claims to pre-eminence, there is hostility or aloofness between them and Brahmans. Basava, indeed, taught that men of all castes, and even outcastes, were eligible to enter the Lingāyat community.

The scriptures of the religion are in Sanskrit, and consist of the 28 Śaivāgamas, the earlier portions of which are said to be applicable to all Śaivas, and the later portions to relate especially to Vīra-śaivas. There is also an ancient Sanskrit work, called *Śiva-gītā*, to which a high place is given. For the unlearned the teaching of these is popularised in Kanarese in a series of prose works called *Vachanas*, which consist of short homilies or concise hortatory addresses. A considerable number of these works were composed by Basava and his followers. The *Basava Purāṇa* and *Channa Basava Purāṇa* are by unlearned people treated as authorities for their religion; but the learned do not give them this place.

The leading doctrines and practices of the Vīra-śaiva religion are summed up in the technical terms, *ashṭāvaraṇam*, the "eight environments," or aids to faith and protections against sin and evil; and *shaṭsthala*, or the six stages of salvation.

The *ashṭāvaraṇam*, or aids to faith, are: (1) Obedience to a *guru;* (2) Worship of a linga; (3) Reverence for the *jangama* as for an incarnation of Śiva; (4) The devout use of ashes (*vibhūti*) made of cowdung, which are supposed to have great cleansing and sanctifying power; (5) Wearing of a necklace, or rosary, of *rudrāksha* or seeds of the *Eleocarpus*, sacred to Śiva and a charm of supposed spiritual efficacy; (6) *Pādōdaka*, the washing in, or drinking of, water in which the feet of a guru or jangama have been bathed; (7) *Prasāda*, the presentation of food to a guru, linga or jangama, and eating sacramentally what is left; (8) *Panchākshara*, the utterance of the five-syllabled formula *namaḥ Śivāya* ("Obeisance to Śiva"). With the sacred syllable *Om* prefixed, it is also called *shaḍakshara* (six syllabled).

The *Shaṭsthala*, or six stages of salvation (*i.e.*, deliverance from transmigration), are termed *bhakta*, *mahesha*, *prasādi*, *prāṇdlingi*, *śaraṇa* and *aikya*, the last being absorption into the deity. For a specimen of the many fanciful things said about these, see Chapter 61 of the *Channa Basava Purāṇa.*

One feature of Lingāyat literature is the prominence given to prophecies of the future, called *kāla-jṇāna.* These sometimes conclude with the prophecy of a coming ideal king, named Vīra Vasanta Rāya, when Kalyāṇa is to be rebuilt and the Lingāyat religion to be restored to more than its former glory.

Reverence is paid to 63 ancient saints, called *purātanas*, of the Śaiva faith, and 770 later or mediæval saints (*nūtana purātana*). Among the latter are included Basava and his chief disciples. Mānikka Vāchaka is claimed as one of them, and said to be identical with a Mānikayya mentioned among the Śaiva saints in the *Channa Basava Purāṇa.*

The philosophical position of the Lingāyats is similar to the monistic and quasi-monistic systems of the Brahmans. Śiva is identified with the eternal entity, *parabrahm*, and as such is spoken of as *Śiva-tattva* or *Mahā Śiva*, and is superior to the personal deities, Brahmā, Vishṇu, and Rudra (Saṁhāra Rudra, the destroyer).

V.

LINGĀYAT WRITERS

FROM 1160-1600

We now proceed to give an account of the chief Lingāyat writers after Basava and his immediate associates until 1600. After Bijjala's death the northern part of the Kanarese country (Kuntala) was thrown into disorder; the Kalachuri dynasty succumbed to the Yādavas of Devagiri; and Lingāyat religionists were in ill odour. This may account for the fact that the first four authors to be now named lived under the Ballāl rajas.

The earliest is *Harīśvara*, called also Harihara, who had been a chief revenue accountant at Haḷebīḍ under Narasimha Ballāla. The story goes that, when called upon to present his accounts, he said that they had been accidentally destroyed by fire when he was performing the *ārati* (waving of lamps) in the Virūpāksha temple at Hampe; and that he was dismissed by the king to that temple, where he continued to live and where he wrote his works. His first was a book in lyrical (*ragaḷe*) form, in praise of the 63 *purātanas* or early Śaiva saints. It is known as *Śivagaṇada ragaḷe*, or from the name of the first saint, *Gambiyaṇṇana ragaḷe*. As this produced the impression that he was not capable of writing anything more difficult than short songs, he composed the more ambitious work, *Girijākalyāṇa*, or "Legend of the Marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī," which gained much popularity. It is written elegantly in the old Jaina style, and is highly praised by all subsequent Lingāyat writers. He also wrote *Pampā Śatakam*, a cento in praise of Virūpāksha of Hampe.

Rāghavānka was a disciple of Harīśvara. He was born and lived at Hampe; but he visited and won triumphs at

the courts of Dorasamudra and Warangal, and spent the last years of his life at Belur in the Hassan district. He wrote *Hariśchandra Kāvya*, the legend of the inflexible truthfulness of king Hariśchandra. It is said that his uncle, Hariśvara, was displeased at his having written the praises of a Vaishṇava king, and to make amends he wrote his other works, of which the chief are *Somanātha Charitre*, the history of Somayya of Puligere; *Siddharāma Purāṇa*, the history of Siddharāma of Sonnalige (see above p. 39); and *Harihara Mahatva*, in praise of Hariśvara of Hampe. It is claimed for him that he was the first to write in *shaṭpadi*, or six-lined stanzas, a form of verse which afterwards became very popular. An account of him, entitled *Rāghavānka Charitre*, was written in shaṭpadi by Chikka Nanjēśa in the sixteenth century.

Kereya Padmarasa received his prœnomen "Kereya" (tank-builder) through having caused to be made the Belur tank. He was for a time minister of the Ballāl rāja Narasimha. After he had retired some time from this post, he was summoned to the capital to withstand a Telugu Brahman, who had come to Dorasamudra preaching Vaishṇavism. Travelling thither with a company of learned men reciting Śaiva texts, he reached the capital, and so triumphantly vindicated the Vīra-śaiva faith that, according to the contract, his opponent had to embrace it. Then he set out, *via* Hampe, on a pilgrimage to Benares, where he died. He wrote *Dīkshā Bodhe*, a volume in *ragaḷe* representing a colloquy in which a guru instructs a disciple, and occasionally quotes Sanskrit ślokas in confirmation of Śaiva doctrine. He is the hero of the *Padmarāja Purāṇa*, written by one of his descendants about 1385.

Kumāra Padmarasa, the son of the last-named writer, was the author of the *Sānanda Charitre*, which tells how a rishi's son, hearing of the torments of the lost in hell, attempted to relieve their suffering by the power of the *panchākshari*. It is said to be a reproduction of a Sanskrit original.

Hariśvara, Rāghavānka and Kereya Padmarasa are all placed by Mr. Narasimhacharya under the year 1165. If they wrote in the reign of Naraṣimha I (1141-1173) they

must belong to about that time; but then they could scarcely have received their inspiration from Basava, and their works must be evidence of a general revival of Śaivism, of which Basava's work was only a part. It would be otherwise if they lived under Narasimha II (1220-1235) or Narasimha III (1254-1291). It is noteworthy that the *Śabdamaṇi-darpaṇa* (1260) makes no reference to shaṭpadi.

Pālkurike Soma (c. 1195) was a learned scholar born at Pālkurike in the Godāvari district. After defeating in controversy the Vaishṇava śāstris there, he moved to Kalleya in the Kanarese country. He wrote more especially in Sanskrit and Telugu. A Telugu *Basava Purāṇa* by him is said to have formed the basis of Bhīma Kavi's *Basava Purāṇa*. Among his Kanarese works there is said to have been a *śataka*, and some have identified this with the well-known and widely read *Somēśvara Śataka*, an attractive cento of verses on moral subjects. This work, however, is so loose and faulty in grammar and style that Mr. Narasimhacharya thinks it could not have been written by one who, like Pālkurike Soma, was acquainted with Sanskrit. He also points out that Lingāyats themselves do not include it in the list of writings by Pālkurike Soma. Besides which, the author never calls himself Pālkurike Soma, but implies that he belonged to Puligere (Lakshmeśvar). The date of *Puligere Soma* is not certainly known, but he may have belonged to this period.

Deva Kavi (c. 1200) wrote, in dignified and elegant champu, a work of fiction called *Kusumāvali*. Like the *Līlāvatī*, of Nemichandra, to be mentioned below (p. 51), the story is of a prince and a princess who fall in love with one another's portraits, and after many days' search meet and are wedded.

Somarāja (1222), apparently a ruling prince, probably one of the Chauṭa rājas on the West Coast, who had embraced Lingāyatism, wrote *Śringāra-rasa*, his hero being a king who takes a whole city of people to Kailāsa (heaven) with him.

Stanzas from the Somēśvara Śataka

By Puligere Soma. A.D. 1200.

[As the refrain is capable of being construed in two ways, I have given different renderings of it in alternate verses. Hara and Sōmēśvara (or Sōmēśa) are names of Śiva.]

Some facts from professors are learnt,
And some by the śāstras are taught;
Some lore is the fruit of observing,
And some is arrived at by thought;
And converse with wise men gives insight;
And thus to ripe knowledge one's brought.
Many drops coalescing make rivers;
From rivers the ocean is wrought.
Be Hara, great Hara, adored—
Somēśvara, glorious Lord. (2)

The sun like a jewel adorneth the sky,
The moon like a jewel the night;
An heir is the cherishéd gem of the home,
The gems of the lake are the lotuses bright:
The sacrifice' crown is th' oblation of ghee,
The crown of a wife is her sweet chastity;
And that which adorneth the court of a king
Is the presence of poets, fit praises to sing.
To thee, O Somēśa, I bow;
Death's mighty Destroyer art thou. (18)

The moon, though it sometimes is slender,
Will swell to full roundness again;
The seed of the banyan, though tender,
May become greatest tree of the plain;
The puniest calf to a bullock will grow;
The green fruit will ripen in time;
And so, by the favour of heaven,
The poorest to riches may climb.
Be Hara, great Hara, adored—
Somēśvara, glorious Lord. (45)

What avails it to scrub at your skin,
If within you are full of foul mire?
Can the wicked man, clinging to sin,
By bathing cleanse sinful desire?
Why, the crows and the buffaloes bathe:
If to cleanse their beast nature—how vain!
Steep bitter *nīm* fruit in sugar-cane juice:
Yet it never will sweetness attain.
To thee, O Somēśa, I bow;
Death's mighty Destroyer art thou. (64)

Who waters the forest unbounded?
On whose strength do the vast mountains rest?
And earth, air, fire, water and ether—
Who but Thou dost with vigour invest?
Thou alone are upholder of all things that be;
And mortals are nought; they subsist but in Thee.
Be Hara, great Hara, adored—
Sōmēśvara, glorious Lord. (43)

The Basava Purāṇa.—No other Lingāyat author of importance arose till 1369, when *Bhīma Kavi* wrote in shaṭpadi metre the *Basava Purāṇa*, which speedily became a very popular book among the Lingāyats. It professes to tell the story of the life of Basava; who, however, is now represented as an incarnation of Nandi, Śiva's inseparable vehicle, and as especially sent to re-establish the Vīra-śaiva faith upon earth. The bulk of the book is taken up with the wonderful miracles Basava performed. The book is an interesting and typical illustration of the mythopoetic tendency which shows itself more or less in all religions. The method seems to be this. First, a sectarian boast is made in highly hyperbolical terms,—such as, that Basava's word is so powerful that by it poison can be converted into ambrosia, the dead restored to life, irrational creatures enabled to confute learned men, mountains can be moved, the sun made to stand still in heaven, a tigress yield herself to be milked. Or else a teaching is recorded in metaphorical language,—such as, that those of unclean castes and degrading pursuits are sanctified by the performance, however mechanically, of the powerful Śaiva rites. And then, concrete stories are invented to justify each of these statements. This will give an idea of the kind of miracle (*pāvaḍa*) attributed freely to Basava. Finally, Basava is represented as being re-absorbed into the linga of the Śiva temple at Sangamēśvara.

"As a column of dust raised by the whirlwind arises from the earth, and is lost upon the earth again; as froth is produced in milk when it is churned, and subsides into milk again; as the lightning flash is born of the sky, and recedes into the sky again; as hailstones are produced by water, and melt into water again; so Basava came forth from the Guru and ultimately was re-united with Him in everlasting rest."

Illustrative Extract from the Basava Purāṇa, XI, 9-15. A.D. 1369

BASAVA AND THE KING'S TREASURE

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.—Basava was in charge of king Bijjala's treasury. Just before the time for paying the army, a Jangama came along and asked him for the treasure. Whereupon the pious Basava gave him the whole. The king, being informed by Basava's opponents, severely reprimanded him, and threatened him with instant dismissal. The poem then proceeds—

But nought perturbed was Basava;
He calmly smiled and said:—

Untold, O king, the wealth of him
Who worships Śiva great.
His is the stone Chintāmaṇi
Which finds him all he asks;
And his the Cow of Paradise,—
The Kāmadhēnu famed;
The Kalpa-vṛiksha too is his,—
Th' all-bounteous tree of Heaven;
E'en Meru's golden mount is his:
No good thing can he lack.
What folly then to think that such
Can covet other's wealth!

Will bee that knows the lotus-bloom
A thistle seek instead?
Will chakor bird, that has for food
The moon's ambrosial rays,
Exchange that heavenly banquet for
The dark of moonless night?
Will cub of Indra's elephant
Suck teat of village sow?

Will *hamsa*-swan, that's free to drink
Of the boundless Sea of Milk,
Seek salt-sea water for its thirst?
O Bijjala, bethink!
Or will the lion feed on herbs?
Will parrot throw away
The mango's luscious fruit to eat
Insipid jungle nut?
When these things hap, then may'st thou think
The Śiva-bhakta too
May cast his heaven-born treasure down
To steal man's petty gold.

Nay, let the earth reel 'neath our feet,
Great Śesha's head sink down;

Quenched be the raging fires of Hell,
Splintered the mountain's crown;
Let moonlight lose its radiance soft;
The sun rise in the west.
E'en then would he who Śiva knows
Not covet other's pelf.

Does he whose inmost mind doth glow
With heavenly radiance blest
Need man's poor earthen lamp to shed
For him its sickly gleam?
With thought of Para-Śiva's name
What sweetness can compare?

Endowed with all the wondrous powers
That Śiva-knowledge gives,
I have command of all I wish.
Need I thy money, king?
Dismiss the doubts that hold thy mind,
And this beside reflect—
That gold was never thine at all;
'Twas Śiva's—His alone.
Mindful of this, I gladly gave
It all to Śiva Lord.

Yet, mark, O king! if by my deed
Thou hast a farthing lost,
I've failed to prove a *bhakta* true.
Call for the chests and see."

So the boxes were brought;
The contents were poured forth.
Oh the wonder the courtiers saw!
Not a farthing was short;
The whole treasure was there!
'Twas most dazzling—that golden store.
The king beamed with delight
At the vision so bright,
And honoured Lord Basava more.

NOTE.—The above account of one of Basava's alleged miracles, or "signs," shows the ease with which a narrative of professed fact may have grown out of what at first was probably only ethical teaching. It also reveals the consciousness of the possession of valuable spiritual truth which doubtless formed an important part of the dynamic of the Lingāyat Revival.

Later Lingāyat Writers of this Period.—To about the same period as Bhīma Kavi belongs *Padmaṇāṅka* (c. 1385), a descendant of Kere-Padmarasa. He wrote

the *Padmarāja Purāṇa*, in which he extols the victory which his ancestor of 200 years before had won, when he confuted the advocates of other creeds, as related on page 49.

To the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries belong—

Mallanārya, of Gubbi (c. 1370), who wrote several works—*Viraśaivāmṛita*, *Śivabhaktara Purāṇa* and *Bhāva Chintāratna*, or *Satyendra Chola Kathe*, this last being based on the Śaiva legend of the pious king, Satyendra Chola, by Piḷḷe Naynār (*Jnāna Sambandhi*).

Singi-rāja, the author of the *Mahā Basava Charitra*, a collection of legends of Basava, in shaṭpadi; and

Chāmarasa, the author of the *Prabhulinga-līle*, a shaṭpadi work, the hero of which is Prabhulinga, also called Allamaprabhu, an associate of Basava, by whom he was made head of the Kalyāṇa *maṭha* (monastery). Prabhulinga is regarded in this book as an incarnation of Gaṇapati, and it is related how Pārvatī, in order to test the steadfastness of his detachment from the world, incarnated a portion of herself in a princess of Banavāse to tempt him. The author lived at the court of Prauḍha Deva Rāya II, of Vijayanagar (1446-1467), who caused it to be translated into Telugu and Tamil.

In 1585, while the Vaishṇava Revival was in full progress, but Vijayanagar had already fallen, *Virūpāksha Pandita* wrote in shaṭpadi the *Channa Basava Purāṇa*. Its hero is Channa Basava, who is regarded as an incarnation of Śiva. The work relates his birth, and his greatness at Kalyāṇa; but is mostly taken up with the instruction he gave to Siddharāma of Sonnalige on the entire body of Vīra-śaiva lore—the creation, the wonderful deeds (*līle*) of Śiva, the marvellous efficacy of Śaiva rites, stories of Śaiva saints, and finally a 'prophecy' including the fall of Vijayanagar, but looking forward to the time when Vasanta-rāya shall be born, Kalyāṇa rebuilt and beautified, and Lingāyatism re-established.[1]

To about the same time (c. 1595) belongs the *Prauḍha-rāya-charitre*, by *Adṛiśa*, of Kolhapur. It consists of stories

[1] An abridged English translation of the *Basava Purāṇa* and *Channa Basava Purāṇa*, by Rev. G. Würth, will be found in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1865-6.

represented as told to Prauḍha Deva Rāya to convince him of the superiority of Lingāyatism to Vaishṇavism.

To the sixteenth century belongs also *Rājēndra Vijaya Purāṇa* (champu), by *Siddhalingayogi*—an account of the prince Bhairavēśvara.

VI.

JAINA WRITERS OF THE LINGĀYAT PERIOD

1160-1600

WHILE this large output of Lingāyat works was going on, there was no diminution of literary activity among the Jainas. In fact, there were two streams of literature flowing contemporaneously.

Many of the Jaina works are styled Purāṇas, and bear the name of one or another of the Tirthankaras. Never a decade passed without one or more considerable works of this sort in champu; as will be seen from the following list:—

A. D.	Author	Name of Purāṇa	No. of Tirthankara
c. 1170	Nemichandra	Neminātha	22
1189	Aggaḷa	Chandraprabha	3
c. 1195	Asanna	Vardhamāna	24
c. 1200	Bandhuvarma	Harivamśābhyudaya	22
1205	Pārśvapaṇḍita	Pārsvanātha	23
1230	Janna	Anantanātha	14
c. 1235	Guṇavarma II	Pushpadanta	9
c. 1235	Kamalabhava	Śāntīśvara	16
1254	Mahābalakavi	Neminātha	22

Some, however, of the poets in this list deserve special mention for other reasons.

Nemichandra was the author of the earliest known specimen of the Novel, or genuine work of fiction, in the Kanarese language. It is written in the usual champu in a pleasing style, but disfigured by erotic passages. It is entitled *Līlāvatī*, and tells how a Kadamba prince saw in a dream a beautiful princess (the heroine) and she likewise dreamt of him. They were unacquainted, but after mutual search and various adventures were ultimately wedded.

Nemichandra was eminent at the court of the Ballāl rājas, Lakshmana-rāja and Vīra Ballāla. It was at the suggestion of Vīra Ballāla's minister that he wrote the *Neminātha Purāṇa*.

Bandhuvarma, who belonged to the Vaiśya caste, published, besides the *Harivamśābhyudaya*, a well-written book on Morals and Renunciation. It is addressed to a certain Jīvana, and is entitled *Jīva Sambodhana*.

Janna was a man of varied gifts and considerable munificence, being both court poet and general at the Ballāl court, and also the builder and beautifier of temples. Beside the Purāṇa named above, he wrote several metrical *śāsanas* and also the *Yaśōdhara Charitre* (1209), in the reign of Vīra Ballāla. Whether this book is a work of imagination, or intended to be historical, I do not know. It relates how a king was about to sacrifice two boys to Māriamma, but was so moved by their story that he released them and did penance. The style is graceful and dignified.

The two poets, *Pārśva-paṇḍita* and *Guṇavarma II* lived at the court of the Saundatti rājas.

In addition to these, the following poets are worthy of mention:

Śiśumāyaṇa (c. 1232) was the earliest poet to write in *sāngatya*, a form of composition which afterwards came into much vogue. It is especially intended to be intoned to the accompaniment of a musical instrument. He wrote *Anjanā Charitre* and an allegorical poem called *Tripura-dahana Sāngatya*.

Āṇḍayya (c. 1235) was the author of a work in champu usually known as the *Kabbigara Kāva* ("Poets' Defender"), but also called *Sobagina Suggi* ("Harvest of Beauty"), *Madana-vijaya* and *Kāvana-Gella* ("Cupid's Conquest"). The special literary interest of the work is that it is written from beginning to end without the use of a single unnaturalised (tatsama) Sanskrit word, the vocabulary consisting entirely of *tadbhava* (naturalised Sanskrit) and *dēśya* (indigenous) words. There is no other work in Kanarese which resembles it in this respect. The subject is the Victory of Cupid. Angry with Śiva, who had im-

prisoned the Moon, he assailed him with his arrows, but was cursed by Śiva to be separated from his bride; but he found means to get release from the curse, and to rejoin his bride.

Mallikārjuna (c. 1245), the father of the Kēśirāja, who wrote the *Śabdamaṇi Darpaṇa*, was a muni who lived in the time of the Hoysala king, Vīra Somēśvara (1234-1254). He compiled the *Sūkti-sudhārṇava*, called also the *Kāvya-sāra*, a sort of "Gems from the Poets"—a very useful collection of verses from all previous poets, arranged under 18 topics, such as descriptions of the sea, the mountains, the city, the seasons, the moonlight, the dawn, friendship, love, war, etc. A later *Kāvya Sāra* ("Selections from the Poets") was compiled c. 1600, by Abhinava Vādi Vidyānanda.

Kēśirāja (c. 1260), the son of Mallikārjuna, and on his mother's side the grandson of another poet, Śankara or Sumanōbāṇa, whose works are not extant, and nephew of Janna, came of a very literary family. He is the author of the well-known standard grammar, *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa*.[1]

Kumudēndu (c. 1275) wrote a Rāmāyaṇa, called *Kumudēndu Rāmāyaṇa*, in shaṭpadi metre. It follows the Jaina tradition, and therefore it would be worth while comparing it with the *Pampa Rāmāyaṇa* (page 30). No perfect copy, however, has yet been found.

Raṭṭa Kavi (c. 1300) was the lord of some Jaina town, and had many alternative names. He wrote a quasi-scientific work, entitled *Raṭṭa Mata* or *Raṭṭa Sūtra*, on natural phenomena, such as rain, earthquakes, lightning, planets and omens. It was translated into Telugu by Bhāskara, a Telugu poet of the fourteenth century.

Nāgarāja (c. 1331) wrote *Puṇyāśrava*, 52 Tales of Pauranik Heroes, illustrative of the duties of a householder.

Mangarāja I (c. 1360) wrote a book on medicine, called *Khagendra Maṇi-darpaṇa* in which he quotes Pūjyapāda's work on medicine of the fifth century.

Madhura (c. 1385), court poet of Harihara of Vijayanagar, whose prime minister was his patron, wrote the

[1] On which see below (page 83).

Dharmanātha Purāṇa, the legend of the 15th Tīrthaṅkara, and also a book in praise of Gommaṭēśvara, of Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa. Although he belonged to the fourteenth century, he wrote in the scholarly style of the early Jaina poets.

Abhinava Chandra (c. 1400) was the author of a work on horses, entitled *Aśva Vaidya*. It was based on earlier works, especially on that by Chandrarāja (1170), but brought up to date.

VII.

THE RISE OF VAISHṆAVA LITERATURE

1500-1600

Jayaty-āvishkritam Vishṇor varāham kshobit-ārṇavam
Dakshinonnata-damshṭrāgra-viśrānta-bhuvanam vapuh.

"SUPREME is the boar form of the resplendent Vishṇu, which scattered the waters of the ocean and raised up the peaceful earth on the tip of his long right tusk."

This couplet usually heads Vaishṇava inscriptions.

THE VAISHṆAVA REVIVAL

The Vaishṇava Revival was a revolt against the unsatisfying character of the *advaita* teaching of Śankarāchārya. For three hundred years after Śankarāchārya's time, *i.e.*, from 800-1100, his presentation of monism and his doctrine of illusion *(māyā)* had held the field of philosophic teaching and dominated the religious thought of the people, unchallenged from within Hinduism. But that system had reduced God to a pure abstraction, an unconscious entity, which could not satisfy man's craving for worship, sympathy and communion. The Vaishṇava reformers strenuously contended against the interpretation put upon the Upanishads by the Illusionists (*māyā-vādis*), as they called Śankara's followers. Accepting the same books as authorities, they gave them a new interpretation, and taught that the Supreme, the "One only without a second," was a deity with a personality,—a Being to stir, and respond to, devotion, reverence and love.

The two great Reformers who initiated the movement were Rāmānujāchārya, early in the twelfth century, and Madhvā-

chārya,[1] in the thirteenth century. Of these, the former, whose centre was at Śrirangam, was driven by persecution into the Kanarese country, where he converted the Ballāl rāja from Jainism, and established the important *matha* of Mēlkōṭe. His works are in Sanskrit; those of his followers chiefly in Tamil. The second was born and lived in the Kanarese country, with Uḍupi as his centre, and although he himself wrote in Sanskrit, he inspired many works in Kanarese. The followers of Rāmānuja are called Śrī Vaishṇavas, and worship Vishṇu exclusively; the Mādhvas worship Vishṇu chiefly, but not to the exclusion of Śiva.

The new movement was much aided by the publication of the Sanskrit *Bhāgavata Purāṇa.* This very popular account of the doings of Krishṇa probably dates from the tenth century. It contains a new theory of bhakti and the way to attain it. The Bhāgavata has exercised a more powerful influence in India than any other Purāṇa.

It is worthy of note that the revolt against the teaching of Śankara was shared by Śaivas also; and the feeling that they had a common cause led, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, to various attempts being made to reconcile the rival Vaishṇava and Śaiva creeds, by building temples to a combined deity, called Harihara or Śankara-Nārāyaṇa. But the most important fact is that, whether the deity worshipped was called Vishṇu (Hari) or Śiva (Hara) or Harihara, he was conceived of as *personal*, and not as abstract; so that *bhakti* (ardent personal devotion) took the place of *tapas* (austerities, self-mortification) and of *yogābhyāsa* (self-hypnotism).

The personal Śiva has been ardently worshipped in the Tamil country, but, speaking generally, has never called forth personal devotion to the same extent as the more human incarnations of Vishṇu in Rāma and Krishṇa. In North India, through the teaching of Rāmānanda, who was inspired by Rāmānuja, and seconded by Kabir (1500) and Tulasī Dās (c. 1600), it was the worship of Rāma and his

[1] Madhvāchārya is sometimes by European writers confounded with Mādhavāchārya (the author of the *Sarvadarśana Sangraha*, the brother of Sāyana, and minister of Bukka Rāja in the fourteenth century).

consort Sītā that obtained dominance. In South India, through the influence of Madhvāchārya, and in Bengal and Mathurā, through the influence of Chaitanya (early sixteenth century), who derived his inspiration from Madhvāchārya, it was Krishṇa and his mistress, Rādhā, that gained by far the widest devotion. This is matter for regret, as the sensual imagery used by the votaries of Krishṇa has degraded religious conceptions, and introduced into the homes and minds of the people a most pernicious element from which the worship of Rāma is free. It is probable that these movements towards a more personal conception of the deity, which originated in South India, owed something to the fact that theistic ideals had been for some time set before the people by neighbouring communities of Christians and Muhammadans.

Early Vaishṇava Works.—Vaishṇava Kanarese literature possesses comparatively little originality. It consists mainly of reproductions in various forms of Sanskrit works. Actually the earliest Vaishṇava writer of importance in Kanarese would seem to be *Rudrabhaṭṭa*, a Smārta Brahman, of the time of Vīra Ballāla (1172-1219), and author of the *Jagannātha Vijaya*, which reproduces the narrative of the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, from the birth of Krishṇa to his fight with Bānāsura. It is written in champu in the style of the Jaina poets, and is much admired. A century later (c. 1300) *Chāvuṇḍarasa*, a Brahman devotee, apparently of Viṭṭhaladeva, of Pāṇḍharpur, wrote *Abhinava Daśa-kumāra-charitra*, a Kanarese rendering in champu of Dandin's Sanskrit work of the same name.

Translations of Sanskrit Classics.—The Vaishṇava revival, as represented in Kanarese literature, dates from about 1500. It opened very strikingly with a Kanarese version of the main story of the *Mahābhārata* (of which Krishṇa, identified with Vishṇu, is the hero), under the auspices of Krishṇa Rāya, of Vijayanagar (1508-1530). The first ten parvas of the work were prepared by *Nāraṇappa*, a Brahman *gauḍa*, of Kōdivāla, in the Dharwar district, but better know by his *nom de plume*. Kumāra Vyāsa. It was

dedicated to the deity at Gadag in the Dharwar District, and hence is sometimes called the *Gadagina Bhārata.* The remaining parvas of the epic were translated by *Timmaṇṇa,* and his work was entitled, after his royal patron, the *Krishṇa Rāya Bhārata,* just as the English Authorised Version of the Bible is called King James' Version. Both parts are written in shaṭpadi.

The success of the Bhārata led to a similar presentation of the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* from the Brahmanical standpoint. But in the meantime the Vijayanagar capital had been overthrown (1565). The work was produced at Torave, in the Sholapur district, and is generally known as the *Torave Rāmāyaṇa.* It also is in shaṭpadi. The author's name is unknown, but he calls himself *Kumāra Vālmīki,* after the author of the Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa.* Its date is about 1590.

Two other shaṭpadi versions of the *Bhārata* were produced in the same century, but have obtained less currency. One by Lakshmakavi is known as the *Lakshmakavi Bhārata;* the other, the *Śālva Bhārata* is by Śālva, a Jaina, and court poet to a prince, Śālvamalla-narendra, in the Konkana country, ruling in a city called Nagaranagari. This latter follows the Jaina tradition of the story. In the seventeenth century there is still another by Sukumāra Bhāratī.

The *Torave Rāmāyaṇa* was speedily followed by a version in shaṭpadi of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa.* Its author gives his name as Chāṭu Viṭṭhala Nāthạ, and is also called Nityātma Śuka. The tenth skanda of the *Bhāgavata,* which contains the story of Krishṇa and is the most widely read portion of the Purāṇa, was about the same time rendered into Kanarese in an abridged form, under the name of *Krishṇa Līlābhyudaya* by Venkaya Ārya, a Mādhva Brahman, who dedicates it to Venkaṭa Sauri, the Krishṇa of Tirupati.

Of *Rāmāyaṇa* stories, mention may be made of the *Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa* by Timmārya, of Sādali, near Ānekal (c. 1708); the *Hanumad-vilāsa* by Tippannārya; and the *Uttara Rāmāyaṇa* (shaṭpadi) by Tirumala Vaidya. Of Timmārya it is related that, although he was without

scholarly education, a natural poetic gift showed itself in him from his fifteenth year, and every morning after ablutions he would pour forth his stanzas before his god, Timmarāya-svāmi, and a relative noted them down. It is in shaṭpadi.

Popular Devotional Songs.—The worship of Krishṇa was popularised by short songs in *ragale* metres by Vaishṇava *dāsas*, or mendicant singers, who wandered from village to village. They received their inspiration from Madhvāchārya, to whom they all express indebtedness, and from Chaitanya, who, about 1510, visited all the chief shrines of South India, teaching men everywhere to chant the name of Hari, and who died at Puri in 1533. A collection of 402 of these devotional songs in Kanarese was made by Rev. Dr. Moegling, who published 174 of them in Mangalore in 1853, and these have since been reprinted in Bangalore. They are known as the *Dāsara Padagaḷu*. The earliest, most prolific and most famous of the singers was Purandara Dāsa, who lived at Pāṇḍharpur and at Vijayanagar in the time of Achyuta Rāya, and died in 1564, a year before the battle of Talikota. A contemporary of his was Kanaka Dāsa, a *beḍa* (hunter-caste) of Kāginele (either in the Chitaldrug or the Dharwar district), who, besides fugitive songs, wrote also the *Mohana Tarangini* (Purāṇic stories chiefly about Krishṇa) in sāngatya, *Nala Charitre* in shaṭpadi, *Krishṇa Charitre* and *Vishṇubhakti Sāra*. The names of other singers are Viṭṭhala Dāsa, Venkaṭa Dāsa, Vijaya Dāsa, and Krishṇa Dāsa, the last three all being of Uḍupi. Along with these may be mentioned Varāha Timmappa Dāsa, who was only less prolific than Purandara Dāsa and Kanaka Dāsa; but he lived two centuries later, in the time of Haidar Ali. When Sāgar fell into the hands of Haidar, he fled to Tirupati. Contemporary with him was Madhva Dāsa, of Uḍupi.

The chief object of the poems is to extol Vishṇu above all other gods, and exhort men to worship him. The gist of one of the songs is—"There is no god equal to Vishṇu; no tīrtha equal to the Śāligrām; no book equal to the *Bhārata;* no life-force (*chaitanya*) equal to Vāyu; no teaching equal to that of Madhva; no caste equal to the Brahman caste."

They record the exploits of Krishṇa and commend pilgrimages to his shrines. They also give expression to weariness of the world, the sense of sin and helplessness, a depreciation of outward rites and a yearning after purity and divine help; and, warning men of the approach of death and the penalties of hell, call them to a religious life. Mr. Charles Gover, in his *Folk Songs of Southern India*, has given a free translation into English verse of 28 of these songs. Of these I quote one by Purandara Dāsa.

A Song in Praise of Vishṇu

BUY MY SUGAR-CANDY (THE NAME OF HARI)

My stock is not packed on the backs of strong kine;
Nor pressed into bags strongly fastened with twine.
Wherever it goes it no taxes doth pay;
But still is most sweet, and brings profit, I say.

Chorus: Oh buy sugar-candy, my candy so good,
For those who have tasted say nought is so sweet
As the honey-like name of the godlike Vishṇu.

It wastes not with time; never gives a bad smell;
You've nothing to pay, though you take it right well;
White ants cannot eat the fine sugar with me;
The city resounds as its virtue men see.

From market to market 'tis needless to run;
The shops know it not, the bazaar can have none.
My candy, you see, is the name of Vishṇu,
So sweet to the tongue that gives praise as is due.

Another work popularising the worship of Krishṇa was the *Hari Bhakti Rasāyana* ("Elixir of Devotion to Vishṇu"), by Chidānanda, of the eighteenth century.[1]

[1] There exists also a Śaiva (not Vīra-śaiva) *Bhaktirasāyana* in shaṭpadi by Sahajānanda, a Smārta, of the seventeenth century.

VIII.

KANARESE LITERATURE IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

Three Eminent Writers.—In the seventeenth and early in the eighteenth century there were three writers who deserve especial mention, as each produced something eminent in its own department. They belong to each of the three chief faiths of the people—one a Jaina, another a Lingāyat and the third a Vaishṇava Brahman; and they were all independent of royal patronage.

The first was *Bhaṭṭākalanka Deva*, a disciple of the Jaina guru of the Hāḍuvalli *maṭha*, in South Kanara. He was an accomplished scholar in both Sanskrit and Kanarese. He is said on many occasions to have defended the Jaina faith in public assemblies. In 1604 he completed an exhaustive grammar of the Kanarese language in 592 Sanskrit sūtras, accompanied with a glossary (vṛitti) and a commentary (vyākhyā) in the same language. The sūtras or mnemonic lines alone would fill but a few pages, but the full commentary accompanying them expand the book to 50 times that bulk. The work is entitled *Karṇāṭaka Śabdānuśāsanam*. It is enriched with references to numerous previous authorities and quotations from leading Kanarese writers. The author earnestly vindicates the claim of Kanarese to receive as serious treatment as Sanskrit; and says that his aim has been to bring the language to the notice of the learned, to promote its cultivation, and to help to elegance and precision in its use. Although the work is in Sanskrit, it is of such importance to the language that it deserves a place in any history of Kanarese literature.

The second writer was *Shaḍakshara Deva*, a Lingāyat of Yelandur and head of a neighbouring *maṭha*. He composed

poems both in Sanskrit and Kanarese. He wrote three works in Kanarese—*viz.*, *Rājaśekhara Vilāsa* (1657), *Vṛishabhēndra Vijaya* (1671), and *Śabara Śankara Vilāsa*. It is the first-named of these which has made him famous. It divides with the *Jaimini Bhārata* the distinction of being the most highly esteemed poem in the language. It is written in champu of the best period. Although many metres are used, there is no shaṭpadi. The poem is a specimen of fiction in verse, and excels in descriptive power. The following is an outline of the story:—

Rājaśēkhara, the hero of the story, is the son of Satyendra Chola, ruling at Dharmāvati. He forms a very intimate friendship with Mitavachana, the son of the prime minister, who has been brought up with him. Together they conduct a victorious campaign against Ceylon, where Rājaśēkhara weds the king's daughter. Some time after his return to the capital, he receives a gift of two spirited horses from the Rāja of Sindh, and proposes to his friend that they should ride them through the crowded town. Mitavachana earnestly tries to dissuade him, reminding him that any loss of life caused is punishable by death, and that it is his father's boast that he will carry out the law impartially, however high the rank of the defaulter. Rājaśēkhara replies that he will take all the consequences upon himself. They set out, and Mitavachana, unable to control his horse, runs over and kills a boy. The bereaved mother appeals to the king. Rājaśēkhara admits that he alone is to blame, and is put to death. In grief thereat, Mitavachana kills himself; whereupon his father and mother also commit suicide. Rājaśēkhara's mother, the queen, and his widow are both in the very act of doing the same, when Śiva intervenes, raises to life all those who have died, commends Satyendra Chola for his unflinching consistency, and takes him to the joys of heaven.

The third writer, *Lakshmīśa*, a Śrī Vaishṇava Brahman, of Dēvanūr, in Arasikere tālūq, is the author of the famous *Jaimini Bhārata*. Little is known of the poet, and his date is not yet certain. It must be late, because he is not referred to except in works written within the last two hundred years. Unlike the Jaina poets he does not name his predecessors, an omission probably due to sectarian aversion. He is tentatively placed in the early part of the eighteenth century. His poem is written throughout in shaṭpadi, and is the best specimen of that style. It is called the *Jaimini Bhārata*, because the narrator of the story is Jaimini-muni, who tells it to Janamejaya. The subject is the wanderings of the

horse appointed for Yudhishṭhira's horse-sacrifice. It, therefore, corresponds to a portion of the Aśvamedha Parva of the *Mahābhārata;* but it differs widely from the Sanskrit in details. The real motive of the poem is to extol Krishṇa. His greatness and the magical power of meditation on his name constitute the recurring theme throughout. The following is an outline of the story:—

A horse-sacrifice, it must be remembered, was in ancient times a proof of universal sovereignty. A horse had to be set free to roam for a year through neighbouring countries, and an army followed to overthrow any sovereign who dared to detain it. Yudhishṭhira, having overcome the Kauravas, determines to perform such a sacrifice. Bhima is first sent to seize a horse from the neighbouring country of Bhadrāvati, whose king he defeats. He then visits Krishṇa at Dwāraka and brings him to Hastināvati. The horse is sent forth, bearing on its head a gold plate with a challenge to any king to detain it; and is followed by Arjuna and an army and Krishṇa. It wanders in turn to Mahishmati, Champakāpura, Strī Rājya (the Women's Realm, *i.e.*, the Pāndya and Malayālam countries), the Rākshasa country, Maṇipura (identified with a city in the south of the Mysore Province), Ratnapura, Sāraswata, and Kuntala, and finally crossing an arm of the sea (probably the Ran of Kach) returns *via* Sindh to Hastināpura, the vanquished kings following in its train. The geography is partly imaginary.

The interest of the poem consists largely in its episodes, of which four may be mentioned: (1) In *Champakapura* the prince, Sudhanwa, is punished for delay in going to battle by being plunged into a caldron of boiling oil, but by meditation on Krishṇa he is able to remain in it, cool and uninjured. (2) At Maṇipura, the ruler is Babhru-vāhana, a natural son of Arjuna himself; and Arjuna is under a curse to be slain by his hand. He is accordingly slain and his head cut off, but by means of the stone sanjīvaka and Krishṇa's blessing, he is restored to life. At this point the story is told at length of how Rāma fought with his sons, Kuśa and Lava. (3) At Mayūradhvaja's court in Ratnapura, Krishṇa appears in the disguise of a mendicant Brahman, who says that a lion has seized his son and refuses to release him, unless it is given instead one half of the king's body. The queen and heir apparent both offer their lives as ransom, but are rejected. On the king's preparing to give his life, Krishṇa reveals himself. (4) At Kuntala the story is told of the romantic early career of the king Chandrahāsa, whose life was repeatedly plotted against by the previous king's minister, Dushṭabuddhi, but the minister's schemes all turned against himself, and as the result of them Chandrahāsa weds the minister's daughter and comes to the throne; while the minister himself and his son and his hired assassins all meet with their death.

Extract from the *Jaimini Bhārata* by Lakshmīśa (XXX, 24-33). A.D. 1720 c.

CHANDRAHĀSA AND VISHAYE

NOTE.—Dushṭabuddhi, prime minister of Kuntala, pays a visit to the tributary prince of Chandanāvati. Before leaving he tells his daughter, Vishaye, that he will seek her a suitable husband; and he leaves his son Madana as regent. Arrived at Chandanāvati, he recognizes in Chandrahāsa, a prince of that place, the boy whom the Brahman astrologers had previously indicated as destined to become ruler of Kuntala, and whom he thought he had killed in infancy, having paid hired assassins to murder him. So he now resolves to compass his death by poison. Pretending friendship, he sends him with a letter to his son, Madana. Chandrahāsa arrives in the outskirts of Kuntalapura, takes his meal in the royal garden, and falls asleep under a mango tree. Just then Vishaye has strayed from her companions to gather flowers; and sees him asleep, and falls in love with him. From this point the poet proceeds as follows:—

Listen, O king! While thus the maiden gazed,
With heart enamoured, on that princely form,
So beauteous in its youthful grace, and now
So deep in slumber wrapt, her eyes discerned
A palm-leaf scroll tied in his garment's hem,
Which lay full loose outspread upon the ground.
By sudden impulse moved, she forward stepped, and quick
Drew forth the scroll. And then, with wonderment,
She found 'twas by her own dear father writ.
Elate with joy, she opened it, and read—

"His Excellency Dushṭabuddhi,
First Minister of Kuntala's fair realm,
To Madana, his much beloved son,
A father's blessing sends. No common man
Is he who brings this note. 'Tis plainly shown
That this same Chandrahāsa shall become
The sovereign lord of Kuntala. Bethink
What promise this holds forth for me and mine,
And how by us he should esteemed be.[1]
Wherefore make no delay; nor idly ask
His birth or rank, his prowess or his fame.

[1] In the original the ambiguity of the message depends on the two possible ways of dividing *mahāhita* ("great friend" or "great enemy") and *sarvathāmitra* ("in all respects a friend" or "in all respects an enemy"), and on the two meanings of *mōhisu* ("desire" or "fall in love with"). As it is impossible to reproduce these in English, I have tried to imitate the ambiguity in another way.

But forthwith give him *vishava*, displayed
In such wise as to stir his heart's desire.
So shalt thou bring a royal benefit
To all our house. Farewell."

—Now *vishava*
Doth "poison" mean. And such the writer meant.
But where is he can alter by one jot
What Destiny hath on the forehead writ?
And so it was. That gentle maiden pure,
Whose heart was full of tender hopes of love,
Remembering oft what, ere her father went,
He promised her,—that he a bridegroom fit
Would find and send—saw here the promise kept,
In such wise as should bring a royal benefit
To all their house. Since this most princely youth
Was marked by Fate to be the sovereign lord
On Kuntala's wide realm, what need to ask
His birth, his rank, or deeds already done.
"My father writes to give him *Vishaye*.
"'Tis well. But by some mere mischance my name
"Is wrongly writ. From this one letter's fault
"Lest mischief fall, I will amend it straight."

Upon the mango bark within her reach
A gum exuding trickled down. This served
For ink. And with the point of finger-nail
For pen, she deftly scratched the palm-leaf scroll,
And changed the *va* to *ye*. Then fastened swift
The seal as 'twas before, and tied the note
Once more within the garment's hem; and turned
To leave the place—yet treading soft, lest sound
Of rustling feet and bangles should betray
From whence she swiftly came. So she rejoined
Her folk.

But when they looked upon her face,
They noted there a new-born light, as of
Some happy secret found. They questioned her—
"How now?" they said, "where didst thou stray so long?
"And what doth please thee so?" But she was coy,
And would not tell. Whereat they laughing said—
"Thy face is like a book that can be read.
"As well might wand'ring zephyr try to keep
"The secret of the scented cinnamon grove
"As thou to hide thy heart's new happiness.
"Well, well! Secrets will out; and eftsoons we
"Thy secret too shall know."

She sweetly smiled,
And strove by forcèd merriment to hide
How fast her heart did leap;—till evening fell,
And to the town they bent returning steps.

It was the Marriage Season of the year.
The jocund sounds of wedding-song and dance,
Of tabret, drum and tinkling cymbal, filled
The air; and troops of joyous matrons passed,
Busy with bridal rites. 'Twas such
Auspicious sounds and sights did greet the path
Of love-lorn Vishaye. The very gods
Did smile upon her hopes.

LITERATURE AT THE COURT OF THE RĀJAS OF MYSORE

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the patrons of Kanarese literature were chiefly the Rājas of Mysore, who had become independent from about 1610.

Several of the books of the Mysore period belong to the department of *History*. This had hitherto been represented mostly by inscriptions, many of which were elaborate compositions in verse and prose by distinguished scholars. Now it took more and more the form of books. Among these may be named *Kaṇṭhīrava Narasa Rāja Charitra*, by Nanja Kavi; and *Kaṇṭhīrava Narasa Rāja Vijaya*, by Govinda Vaidya, both dealing with that rāja's reign (1638-59); *Deva Rāja Vijaya*, a metrical history of the reign of Doḍḍa Deva Rāja (1659-72), by Channārya; *Chikka Deva Rāja Yaśobhūshaṇa* and *Chikka Deva Rāja Vaṁśāvaḷi* (1672-1704), by Tirumalayengar; and *Maisūru Arasugaḷa Pūrvābhyudaya*, by Puṭṭaiya (1713). This last was one of the chief authorities used by Wilks in his *History of Mysore*. The manuscript was fortunately saved from among many which Tipu Sultan had contemptuously ordered, in 1796, to be taken for boiling the gram for the horses. In this connection mention may suitably be made of the *Rajēndra-nāme*, or Chronicles of the Coorg Rājas, by Vira-rājendra, of Mercara (1808); of which there is an English translation by Lieutenant Abercrombie (Mangalore).

Chikka Deva Rāya's reign (1672-1704) calls for especial mention in connection with Kanarese literature. He had

spent his early life in Yelandur, and must have been in that town when the *Rājaśēkhara* was written. He formed there an intimate friendship with a Jaina scholar, named Vishālaksha Paṇḍit, who afterwards shared his captivity, when for 13 years (1659-72) he was kept in confinement in an obscure fort by his uncle, the reigning prince, and who ultimately became his prime minister. These circumstances may have encouraged him in his patronage of literature. He caused a valuable library to be made of historical materials, including copies of the inscriptions in his dominions. Unfortunately, most of these were destroyed by Tīpu, who could not read and did not know the value of books. The rāja was himself the author of three works—*Śesha Dharma*, *Chikka Deva Rāja Binnapam*, and *Chikka Deva Rāja Shaṭpadi*. The *Binnapam* is a series of 30 verses on religious subjects, each followed by a prose amplification in the form of a prayer to Nārāyaṇa. His second minister, Tirumalayengar, wrote, beside the two histories mentioned above, *Śesha Kalānidhi* (champu), *Gīta Gopāla*, and a work on rhetoric, entitled *Apratima Vīra Charitra*. Another minister, Chikupādhyāya, also called Alasingārya, wrote some 30 works in champu, sāngatya and prose. The champu works included a *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, *Rukmāngadacharitra* and *Divyasūri-charitra*. The prose works included another version of the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, *Śuka Saptati* and *Yadugiri Mahātmya*. He was also the author of a work, entitled *Sātvika Brahmavidyā Vilāsa*, expounding the Viśishṭādvaita philosophy.

Other writers about Chikka Deva Rāya's court were *Singarārya*, Tirumalārya's brother, the author of a play entitled *Mitravinda Govinda;* and *Honnamma*, a poetess, an attendant on the queen and a pupil of Chikupādhyāya. She wrote a sāngatya on the duties of a faithful wife, entitled *Hadibadeya Dharma*, and was known as Sānchiya Honni, or "Honni of the betel bag," a title bestowed upon her by the Rāja.

Lingāyat, Jaina and Brahmanical Doctrinal Works.—Meanwhile doctrinal works expounding the tenets of the various religious sects—Lingāyat, Jaina, Brahman—were continually being produced.

In the middle of the seventeenth century lived *Nijaguṇa-yogi*, a learned Lingāyat writer, among whose works are *Viveka Chintāmaṇi* (champu), a kind of cyclopædia of Śaiva lore; *Kaivalya Paddhati*, ragaḷe songs on doctrinal topics; *Purātana Tripadi*, accounts of the 63 purātanas or Śaiva saints, in tripadi metre; and three books of instruction in the Vedānta—*Paramārtha Gītā* (ragaḷe), *Anubhava Sāra* and *Paramānubhava Bodhe*. The *Brahmottara Khāṇḍa*, or *Śiva Kathāmṛita Sāra*, in shaṭpadi, a favourite Śaiva work by an unknown author, is probably to be referred to about the same time. Lingāyatism, however, suffered a severe blow when the Jangama priests were massacred and the Lingāyat *maṭhas* destroyed by Chikka Deva Rāya about 1680; and there appear to have been few Lingāyat writers for some time after. About 1760 Nanjarāja, who is said to have belonged to the family of the *Daḷavāyi* (hereditary commander-in-chief of the Mysore State) at Kaḷaḷe, near Nanjangudu, wrote *Śiva Bhakti Mahātmye*, *Harivaṁśa* and *Linga Purāṇa*, the last two being in prose. To somewhere about this period belongs *Sarvajna Mūrti*, the author of the *Sarvajna Padagaḷu*, very popular verses in tripadi metre, embodying much shrewd wisdom and frequently quoted by the common people. His real name is said to have been Pushpadatta. It is said that he was the son of a Śaiva Brahman, of Māsūr, in the Dharwar district, by a Mālava widow, whom he met at Ambalur while returning from a pilgrimage to Benares. Large numbers of verses by him are current. They are chiefly on religion, morals and society.

Jainism is represented during these two centuries by the following, among other works—*Jina Muni Tanaya*, by Nūta Nāgachandra; *Jina Bhārata*, by Brahma Kavi; *Jina Stotra Sangraha* and *Tirthakara Purāṇa* (prose); *Padmāvatī Devī Kathe* (ragaḷe), by Surāla, composed for a princess on the West Coast in 1761; *Rājāvaḷi Kathe* (prose), a summary of Jaina history and traditions, drawn up about 1800, by Devachandra, for a princess of the Mysore royal family; and *Rāmakathāvatāra* (prose), by the same author, based on the Pampa Rāmāyaṇa.

Of Brahmanical works the best known are *Anubhavā-*

mṛita (shaṭpadi), by Mahālinga Ranga, in the seventeenth century; and *Jnāna Sindhu*, by Chidānanda Avadhūta, in the eighteenth century. Both of these are expositions of the Vedānta philosophy.

Verses by Sarvajnya. A.D. 1760 c.

NOTE.—Sarvajnya occupies much the same place in Kanarese literature that Vēmana does in Telugu, and Tukā Rām in Marāṭhī. His verses, on whatever subject, are all in short three-lined stanzas. Their terseness can scarcely be reproduced in a Western language except at the cost of clearness. The following renderings only represent the sense. The poet appends his name to every stanza, much as an artist signs every sketch he makes.

CASTE

When light enters pariah dwelling, is *it* also outcaste for that?
Oh, talk not of "high caste" and "outcaste."
The man on whose homestead God's blessing doth shine
Is surely a noble of lineage divine. Sarvajnya.

We all tread the same mother earth;
The water we drink is the same;
Our hearth-fires' glow no distinction doth show;
Then whence cometh caste, in God's name? Sarvajnya.

FATE

They say that Lord Vishnu once lived as a boar;
That Śiva went begging from door to door;
That Brahmā himself had his head cut away.
Who was it that settled *their* destiny, pray? Sarvajnya.

IGNORANT WORSHIP

The foolish who bow to a wayside stone,
And are not aware of the One God alone—
These we should only for Pariahs own. Sarvajnya.

VAIN PILGRIMAGE

Why seek for THE GOOD on a distant shore?
Look! meanwhile it grows at your own house door! Sarvajnya.

COLLECTIONS OF SHORT STORIES

Another important branch of literature which flourished in this period is that of Fiction, especially in the form of collections of short stories. Many of these are in prose, and have a very large reading public. They are mostly

from Sanskrit originals, and in one form or another are known all over India. The most deserving of mention are the following:—

The *Panchatantra.* A champu version of this has already been mentioned as having been made by Durgasimha as early as 1145. He was a Smārta Brahman of Sayyadi, and General of the Chālukya king, Jagadeka Malla (1139-49). He says that he bases his version on Guṇāḍhya, whom he speaks of as a poet of the court of Śālivāhana. The *Panchatantra* exists also in more than one prose version in Kanarese, the order of the tales varying somewhat in different recensions. This famous work corresponds in a general way to the *Fables of Bidpay* or *Pilpay*, made known in Europe through a translation from the Arabic. Bidpay and Pilpay are corruptions of the Sanskrit *vidyāpati*, "learned man." The work relates how some unpromising princes were taught political science by a clever minister under the guise of stories and fables about animals.

It receives its name from the five devices taught for gaining advantage over one's enemies. The first, *Mitra-bheda*, the sowing of dissension among allied enemies, is illustrated by the story of a lion and a bull, who were close friends until a jackal poisoned the mind of each against the other. The second, *Mitra-lābha*, or the acquisition of allies, is illustrated by the tale of a tortoise, deer, crow and mouse, whose friendship proved useful to them all; and so on.

Battīsa Puttaḷi Kathe, a collection of 32 stories about Vikramāditya, supposed to be told to Bhoja Rāja by the 32 images which adorned the steps of his throne.

Bētāḷa Panchavimśati Kathe, which exists in three forms, champu, tripadi and prose. It tells how Vikrama, of Ujjayini, in order to obtain certain magical powers, is directed to remove a corpse from a tree by night in perfect silence. On each of twenty-five attempts a *vētāḷa*, or goblin, or sprite, accosts him and tells him some story involving a knotty problem. His interest being aroused, he is led to speak, and so to fail of his object.

Śuka Saptati, seventy tales, related by a parrot to a married woman whose husband was away on his travels.

Hamsa Vimśati Kathe, twenty tales by a swan.

Kathā Manjari, and *Kathā Sangraha*, tales, often with morals, from various sources.

Tennāla Rāmakrishṇa Kathe, a collection of laughable anecdotes of the court jester at Ānegundi, in the time of Krishṇa Rāya, of Vijayanagar (1508-30). The king and his chief minister, Appāji, appear in many of the stories.

A Specimen of Kanarese Humour

TENNĀLA RĀMAKRISHNA AND THE HUNCHBACKED MAN

When one day Tennāla Rāmakrishna had played on the king a practical joke of more than usual audacity, the king was so angered that he determined that the jester should die. He ordered that he be buried in the earth up to his neck, and trampled to death by elephants. The bodyguard accordingly took Tennāla Rāmakrishna to the open plain outside the city, dug a pit, placed him in it, and shovelled the earth around him, leaving his head exposed. They then went off to fetch the royal elephants. While they were gone, a hunchbacked man came that way; and seeing a man's head projecting from the ground, asked in astonishment how he had managed to get buried like that. Tennāla Rāmakrishna replied that for years he had suffered much from having a hunchback, and had spent his all on doctors, but none of them had been able to cure him; that some one had suggested that if he got buried up to his neck in the ground, his back would straighten of itself. Being very anxious for relief, he had got his friends to bury him. What he now wanted was that some one should kindly dig him out. The hunchbacked man at once set to work and released him. Then Tennāla Rāmakrishna expressed great delight, and said, "See, I have lost my hunchback, and am perfectly straight again! Now *you* get in, and lose *your* hunchback." So the man got in, and Tennāla Rāmakrishna filled in the earth: and then went his way and hid himself. When the bodyguard returned with the elephants, they were astonished to find buried in the ground a man other than the one they had put there. Having heard the man's story, they reported the matter to the king, who laughed so heartily at his jester's wit and ingenuity, that he forgot his anger, pardoned the offender and restored him to his office.

IX.

THE MODERN PERIOD

NINETEENTH CENTURY

WITH the nineteenth century begins an entirely new period of Kanarese literature, brought about by the influence of English rule in India, the impact of European civilisation, and the introduction of Western scientific methods of research and ideals of scholarship. The reorganisation of the education of the country on Western lines has largely increased the reading public, and extended the knowledge of and desire for literature, which now takes the form almost entirely of prose.

NEW CLASSES OF WORKS

Limitation of space forbids any attempt to enumerate the authors and writings of this period. It will be sufficient to indicate the classes of works most characteristic of it, and to name a few examples.

i. Educational works have been produced in large numbers and of steadily increasing value. These have included works on linguistics, history, mathematics, agriculture, hygiene, medicine and other subjects. Thus has been brought about the beginning of a scientific literature—all earlier works of quasi-scientific character being hopelessly out of date. Although works on astrology and omens are still much in demand, they will gradually yield to the advancing wave of exact science.

ii. *Ṭīkās*, or verbal paraphrases, of the chief Brahmanical poems of the past have been prepared in large numbers, to bring them within the understanding of students. This does not extend, however, to the old classical

Jaina works, which are still very much neglected owing to their religious standpoint being out of favour.

iii. A class of books very largely in demand consist of stories from the Epics in *Yaksha Gāna* style, that is, in a dramatic form suitable for recitation before rustic audiences by professional or amateur actors. Śāntayya, a Brahman of Gersappe, who became Principal Sadar Amīn at Mangalore, wrote a large number of these.

Dramatic works of a higher order are now being produced—a department of literature only feebly represented in earlier centuries. Mention may especially be made of the *Tapatī Pariṇaya*, by Venkaṭavaradāchārya, of Sargūr, in Chāmarājnagar taluq; and of the *Śakuntalā*, reproduced from the Sanskrit by Basavappa Śāstrī, of Mysore, court poet of Chāmarājēndra Woḍeyar (1868-1894).

iv. Novels are becoming increasingly popular. Most of those hitherto published have been reproductions from English or Bengali. Several of the plays of Shakespeare have been reproduced in this form, *e.g.*, *Bhrānti Vilāsa* (Comedy of Errors), *Jayasimha Rāja Charitre* (Cymbeline), *Panchāla Pariṇaya* (Merchant of Venice). The Bengali novels of Babu Bankim Chandra Chattopādhyāya and of Surendra Nāth have been reproduced, chiefly by Mr. B. Venkaṭāchārya, a retired munsiff. The most esteemed of these is the *Durgēśa-nandinī*.

v. Periodical literature, in the form of daily or weekly newspapers, and monthly magazines, are characteristic of this period. Some of these are prepared especially to meet the needs of female readers. Others are representative of Government departments (*i.e.*, the *Economic Journal*), or of particular classes in the community (*e.g.*, the *Vokkaligara Patrike*). The *Vṛittānta Patrike*, a weekly published at Mysore, has, I believe, the largest circulation of any newspaper.

vi. All the various sects continue freely to produce works illustrative of their creeds and praising the deities of their choice. Many Brahmanical works, including a prose version of the *Mahābhārata* (entitled *Krishṇa Rāja Vāṇi-vilāsa*) were produced under the patronage of Krishṇa Rāja Woḍeyar III (1799-1868). Other works are of the

Bhakti-sāra class, or are expositions of the Vedānta. Some are the utterances of the modern theistic movement, or are exhortations to morality. Special mention may be made of the *Nīti Manjari*, by Mr. R. Narasimhāchārya, which reproduces in ancient Kanarese poetic form portions of some of the striking moral treatises existing in Tamil, including the *Kurral*, of Tiruvalluvar; the *Mūdarai* and *Nalvale*, of Auvai; the *Nāladiyār*, etc.

Christianity has entered the field with versions of the Bible, Biblical Commentaries, books for the instruction of the Indian Christian community in the history and teachings of Christianity, translations of such Christian classics as Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* (*Dēśāntriya Prayāṇa* or *Yātṛika Sanchāra*), Augustine's *Confessions*, etc., and lyrics for use in Christian worship.

It deserves to be added that Kanarese is indebted to the missionaries probably for the introduction of printing, and certainly for the improvement of its typography by the preparation of fresh founts of beautiful type for the printing of successive editions of the Bible. Missionaries have also led the way in the careful study of the language and literature. Witness the *English-Carnataca*, and *Carnataca-English* Dictionaries prepared by Rev. W. Reeve, of Bellary; the scholarly *Kannaḍa-English Dictionary* and historical *Kannaḍa Grammar*, by Rev. F. Kittel; the same scholar's editions of the *Chhandombudhi* and *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa;* and useful anthologies, grammars, etc., by Revs. Moegling, Weigle, Würth and others.

As a specimen of recent productions we have only space to quote the following:—

Mysore Royal Anthem

Refrain: Great Gauri, thou lotus-eyed goddess benign,
Pour forth on our Rāja thy blessings divine.

Thou Lady celestial, of loveliest grace,
Upholding all being—unbounded as space.

As Indra the demons—Agastya the sea—
Thou makest all powers of evil to flee.

All good that men seek is by thy hand outpoured,
The Consort co-equal of Śambhu, thy Lord.

O Chāmundi, dark-visaged lady divine.
Watch over Thy namesake of Chāmēndra's line.

For our gracious and good Mahārāja we pray.
Oh cherish him, guide him, and guard him alway.

NOTE.—The vocabulary of this anthem is almost entirely Sanskrit, though the forms are Kanarese. Chāmuṇḍi is another name of Gauri. Her temple on Chāmuṇḍi Hill looks down upon Mysore City. Like Krishṇa, she is represented as of dark-blue countenance. *Chāma*, a modification of Sanskrit *śyāma*, means "dark-blue" or "black." The founder of the present dynasty, and father of the reigning Mahārāja, bore the name of Chāma Rājēndra.

PRESENT POSITION AND PROSPECTS OF KANARESE LITERATURE

It has already been mentioned in the Preface, that by the researches, especially of the German missionaries and of Mr. Lewis Rice and his coadjutor in the Archæological Department of the Mysore Government, the wealth of Kanarese literature has been made known, the chronological position of the chief writers determined, and a large amount of information about them made accessible. An extensive collection of manuscript works has been assembled in the Oriental Library, established in Mysore. Some important works have been edited in the *Bibliotheca Carnātica* under the auspices of the Mysore Government, and others by private scholars, especially in two series, entitled *Kāvya Manjari* and *Kāvya-kalānidhi*, and are thus available for general study.

In May, 1915, while the present little book has been under preparation, an Association has been formed at Bangalore, under the auspices of the Mysore Government, and named the "Kannaḍa Sāhitya Parishad," or "Kannaḍa Academy." This association includes representatives from all parts of the Kanarese country. It has as its object not only the study of past literature and the encouragement of present writers of merit, but the cultivation and improvement of the language—*e.g.*, by the unification of dialects, the fixing of scientific terminology, and the formation of a common literary style. These are matters of much importance, as the language is undergoing rapid changes,

and is exposed to dangers which need to be held in check. It is evident that the bulk of the literature will henceforth be in prose instead of in verse, and that a vocabulary and style intelligible to all readers of ordinary education will more and more take the place of archaic words and forms. It behoves writers to see that, in giving expression to the thoughts of a new age, they do no violence to the genius of the language. Three examples will illustrate the dangers of a time like the present.

1. During the brief period of Muhammadan rule in Mysore, Persian was made the language of the courts, and large numbers of Persian words and idioms were needlessly imported into Kanarese. Many of these still survive in Government notifications and legal documents, and form an object lesson of how Kanarese ought *not* to be written. Again, at the present time, in the conversation of English-educated Kanarese persons, English expressions are being similarly imported wholesale, without any attempt at naturalisation. These reappear in hurriedly written newspaper articles, and being widely read are apt to affect the style of public speech, and denationalise and deprave the language.

2. One of the beauties of Kanarese is that all the pauses and intonations, which in English are represented by punctuation, are expressed by the vernacular idiom itself; so that no well-constructed Kanarese sentence requires any marks of punctuation whatsoever. Nevertheless, most modern Kanarese books are disfigured with all the cumbrous apparatus of Western commas, semicolons, inverted commas and marks of interrogation and exclamation. The result is, that there is growing up a slovenly mode of writing, in which the sense is no longer clear without these alien aids.

3. Another evil tendency appears in books rendered from Western languages by incompetent translators. Complicated sentences are reproduced in facsimile, in which one adverbial clause is subordinate to another, and that to a third. Such a mode of expression is wholly foreign to Kanarese idiom and destructive to good writing—a native Kanarese sentence, however lengthy, being always simple in structure and pellucid in meaning.

It is to be hoped that no encouragement will be given to the introduction of foreign idioms involving intricacy and obscurity; but that Western languages will be utilised only to *enrich* Kanarese literature (1) by fertilising it with new and noble thoughts, and (2) by lending it such additional vocabulary as is absolutely necessary to express the ideas that result from world-wide intercourse.

X.

SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF KANARESE LITERATURE

It will be helpful to the English reader if we mention a few characteristics of Kanarese literature, some of which will be found to be characteristic of other Indian languages as well.

1. It will be noticed that the interest of Kanarese writers is almost entirely *religious*. If we exclude grammatical and linguistic works, there is, until the nineteenth century, extremely little that is not connected with religion. The history is mostly sacred history or hagiology; the works of imagination centre round puranic and mythological subjects; and every book opens with a lengthy invocation of all the gods and saints of the author's sect. Secular history, except as represented by the records on stone or copper grants, begins to appear only at a late period.

2. The great bulk of the literature until the nineteenth century had been in *verse*. The Jaina poets used a form of composition called champu, in which passages of prose were interspersed among the metrical stanzas; but complete prose works have been comparatively few until recent years, when they have become common enough. To read Kanarese books in the ordinary tone of speaking is to miss much of their beauty; they are intended to be chanted. When thus chanted with correct phrasing and musical intonation, all the author's grace of alliteration, metaphor and metre are brought out, and the effect is highly pleasing. Even those who cannot follow the meaning will listen to such chanting with delight.

3. Literary and poetic usage demands the use of *archaic* forms and words, as well as of Sanskrit terms for common

things. Hence the ordinary Kanarese man is no more able to follow the meaning of the great poets than an ordinary Englishman is to understand an Anglo-Saxon book. The books are written for scholars, not for the man in the street. In indigenous schools it is a common practice for boys to repeat large portions of such books as the *Jaimini Bhārata* without understanding in the least what it is all about.

4. Indians have great admiration for the wit and ingenuity shown in what is called *ślēsha* or *double entendre;* and a writer's fame is much enhanced if his work abounds with stanzas which are capable of two or more meanings. This effect is facilitated by the fact that consecutive words are ordinarily run together, so that the letters are capable of being divided up in different ways. Monier Williams tells of a Sanskrit work written throughout on this principle, so that, divided up in one way, it tells the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and divided up in another way, the story of the *Mahābhārata!* In English literature the practice of punning is confined to works which are semi-comic, such as some of the writings of Tom Hood.

From the use of *ślēsha* and of archaic words and forms two results follow. The first is that the writings of the poets need to be elucidated by commentaries or *ṭīkās*, which give modern forms for ancient, and vernacular terms for Sanskrit, and which expound the double or treble meanings and the allusions to mythologic story.[1] The other is that a Kanarese poem defies anything like literal translation into another language. To give any idea of the spirit of the original it would be necessary to paraphrase freely, to expand the terse and frequent metaphors into similes, and to give a double rendering of many stanzas. An example will make this clear. The opening stanza of the *Jaimini Bhārata* is given in Sanderson's translation as follows:—

> May the moon-face of Vishnu, of Devapura, always suffused with moonlight smile, full of delightful favour-ambrosial rays—at which the chakora-eye of Lakshmi is enraptured, the lotus-bud heart of the devout expands, and the sea of the world's pure happiness rises and overflows its bounds—give us joy.

[1] Chaitanya is said to have expounded a verse in the *Bhagavad Gītā* (I, 7, 10) in 18 different ways.

The following is an attempt, by means of a freer rendering, to retain something of the spirit of the original:—

When the full moon through heaven rides,
Broad Ocean swells with all its tides;
The lotus blossom on the stream
Opens to drink the silv'ry beam;
And far aloft with trancéd gaze
The chakor bird feeds on the rays.

So, when great Vishnu's face is seen,—
Whom men adore at Devapore—
Like to the sea, the devotee
Thrills with a tide of joy;
Like to the flower, that blissful hour
The heart of the devout expands;
And Lakshmī Queen, with rapture keen,
Watches with ever-radiant face
For her great Consort's heavenly grace.
O may that grace be ours!

5. There is a number of stock metaphors, drawn from the lotus, the carpenter bee, the tide, etc., of which Indian writers seem never to weary, and of which use is made with infinite ingenuity in practically every Indian poem. Some of these do not correspond with the facts of natural history, but are mere poetic conventions; such as, that the chakora bird feeds only on the rays of the moon, that the lotus grows in rivers, that the Asoka tree has no fruit, and that the lily blooms only by night. There is an interesting chapter on this subject in the *Kāvyāvalokana* of the twelfth century.

6. One misses in India the poetry of pure human love, which forms so large and rich an element in the literature of the West. This is partly due to the very inferior position accorded to woman; but it is also largely due to the fact that marriages are arranged and consummated in very early life, so that neither men nor women ordinarily pass through that beautiful and romantic period of courtship, with all its mutual reverence, shyness and mystery, which is natural to full-grown unwedded youth. The practice of early marriage, it is true, safeguards youth from many serious dangers. But its unfortunate effect on literature is that the sweetheart is replaced by the courtesan; and instead of the healthy sentiment of a pure love we have

nauseous passages of erotic description, which disfigure a very large proportion of the poetical writings. Against this may perhaps be set touching examples of wifely fidelity, such as Sītā and Damayantī.

7. I am afraid it must be confessed that Kanarese writers, highly skilful though they are in the manipulation of their language, and very pleasing to listen to in the original, have as yet contributed extremely little to the stock of the world's knowledge and inspiration. They excel in the grammatical study of their own language, and in description of the recurring phenomena of the seasons; but there is little original and imperishable thought on the questions of perennial interest to man. They are dominated by the depressing conception of life as either an endless and unprogressive round of transmigration or a quest of the tranquil dreamless sleep of nirvāṇa. Hence a lack of that which stimulates hope and inspires to great enterprises. Moreover, their thought moves ever within the circle of Hindu mythological ideas, and is not likely long to survive the passing of those ideas, which are now rapidly on the wane. Among their writers one looks in vain for any rousing moral preacher comparable to the prophets of Israel, to the great Greeks and Romans, or such modern writers as Ruskin, Tolstoi and Carlyle. As historic testimony to a phase of human thought the literature is valuable. But while there is abundant evidence of earnest spirits perplexed with the mystery of the universe and seeking to know THAT which lies at the back of what is seen and temporary, there is no such answer to these questions of the heart as to provide permanent solace and inspiration. But a new and vitalising force has now entered the land. The people are learning the new truth that they are children of a Heavenly Father, that life is an education for something better, that self-sacrificing service of the brotherhood of mankind is nobler than a selfish asceticism, and that righteousness and sympathy are the qualities that unite to God—the true path of *yoga*. And so, conscience is awaking as never before, new ideals of integrity and duty are beginning to inspire the mind of the people, and before them shines a star of immortal hope.

XI.

KANARESE GRAMMARIANS

FROM a very early period Kanarese writers have shown marked eminence in the department of Grammar and allied subjects, such as Rhetoric and the Art of Poetry; and this subject demands a chapter to itself. It will be convenient to give a connected account of the works of the chief grammarians, although their works extend over several centuries. Most of these scholars belonged to the Jaina community, to which Kanarese literature owes so great a debt.

As early as A.D. 500 Dēvanandi Pūjyapāda (see p. 24) probably the same as the preceptor of the Ganga king, Durvinīta, wrote a Sanskrit grammar known as *Jainendra*, which is quoted by Vōpadeva (thirteenth century) as one of the eight original authorities on Sanskrit grammar. It is said to have received its name from the title, Jinendra, which Pūjyapāda bore. It has also the name of *Aneka-śēsha Vyākaraṇa* (See *Ind. Ant.*, X. 75).

About 850 was published the *Kavirājamārga*, a work on ornate composition and rhetoric, fully illustrated by examples, and evidencing a popular interest in the subject, and a high state of development in its study (see page 22). It is to a large extent dependent on the *Kāvyādarśa*, "Mirror of Poesy," of Dandin.

About 984 Nāgavarma I wrote the *Chhandombudhi*, or "Ocean of Prosody," which is still the standard book on the subject of Kanarese prosody. Each verse is so composed as to be an example of the metre described in it. It has been edited by Dr. Kittel (Mangalore, 1875), who has added illustrations from various poets. Kittel's edition, being intended for school use, includes an account of

shaṭpadi and other metres which were not invented till after Nāgavarma's time, but a description of which had been added in later manuscripts.

In the twelfth century (c. 1145), another grammarian of the same name, and hence known as *Nāgavarma II*, wrote two notable grammars of the language, one in Kanarese verse, the other in Sanskrit sūtras. The first is called *Śabda Smṛiti*, and forms the first part of a larger work, entitled *Kāvyāvalokana*, or "Treatise on the Art of Poetry." This is the fullest work in the language on the subject of poetical composition. Successive chapters treat of the Grammar of the language, Faults and Elegances in composition, Style and Poetic Conventions. It is copiously illustrated with quotations from earlier writers, as well as with original stanzas. He followed it by a Sanskrit work, the *Karṇāṭaka Bhāshābhūshaṇa*, in which the grammatical rules are reduced to 269 *sūtras*, or mnemonic formulæ, each sūtra being accompanied by a *vṛitti*, or explanatory gloss, also in Sanskrit. The edition by Mr. R. Narasimhāchārya in the *Bibliotheca Carnātica* includes a Kanarese commentary, probably belonging to the seventeenth century. Nāgavarma II also compiled a Sanskrit-Kanarese glossary, entitled *Vastu Kōśa*, which is the earliest work of its kind in Kanarese. It is composed in a variety of metres. Among other authorities, it quotes the *Amara Kōśa*.

In the next century (c. 1260) Kēśirāja wrote the *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa*, or "Jewel-mirror of Grammar," which remains till now the standard early authority on the Kanarese language. The rules are written in *kanda* metre, and are accompanied by a prose *vṛitti*, or illustrative commentary, provided by the author himself. It was edited by Dr. Kittel (Mangalore, 1872), along with a commentary of probably the seventeenth century. Of this grammar Dr. Burnell says (*Aindra School of Grammarians*, pp. 8, 55): "The great and real merit of the *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa* is that it bases its rules on independent research and the usage of writers of repute. In this way it is far ahead of the Tamil and Telugu treatises, which are much occupied with vain scholastic disputation." As Mr. Lewis Rice justly says: "This encomium is equally applicable to other Kanarese grammars, which

had not been made public in 1875, when Burnell wrote. Nothing is more striking than the wealth of quotation and illustration from previous authors which these grammatical writings contain, and this gives them a high scientific as well as historical value."

In 1604 was published Bhaṭṭākalanka Deva's *Karṇāṭaka Śabdānuśāsana*, an exhaustive grammar in 592 Sanskrit sūtras, accompanied with a gloss and commentary in the same language. See further, p. 61. Like his predecessors, he quotes numerous previous authors and Kanarese writers.

Other works useful to the student of the language, and illustrating the continuous interest in this subject, may be tabulated in chronological order. The letter J after a name denotes that the writer was a Jaina.

c. 1150. *Udayādityālankāram*, by Udayāditya, a Chola prince, 72 stanzas on the art of poetry.

c. 1235. *Kabbigara Kāva*, by Āṇḍayya (J), a work written entirely without tatsamas. See p. 52.

c. 1300. *Amara Kōśa Vyākhyāna*, a valuable Kanarese commentary on the *Amara Kośa*, by Nāchirāja (J).

c. 1350. *Karṇāṭaka Śabda Sāra*, a prose dictionary of 1416 words.

1398. *Abhinava Nighaṇṭu*, or "New Lexicon," by Abhinava Mangarāja (J), based on Keśirāja's *Vastu Kōśa*. It gives the Kanarese meanings of Sanskrit words.

c. 1450. *Chaturāsya Nighaṇṭu*, by Bommarasa; synonyms in 130 stanzas.

1460. *Kabbigara Kaipiḍi*, or "Poets Vade-mecum," by Linga (Śaiva); a dictionary of synonyms in 99 verses, intended to aid the understanding of the Śaiva poets. He was minister to the Rāya of Nuggehaḷḷi.

1480. *Karṇāṭaka Śabda Manjari*, a vocabulary of tadbhava and Kanarese words; by Toṭadārya, a Lingayat yati, who practised Śiva-dhyāna in a garden at Kaggere.

XV. Cent. *Mādhavālankāra*, a translation of Dandin's *Kāvyādarśa*, by Mādhava, a chief of Hiriyur in Kuntala.

1510. *Kavi Jihvā Bandhana*, by Īsvara Kavi; on prosody, rhetoric and other subjects.

XVI. Cent. *Karṇāṭaka Sanjīvana*, a glossary of words spelt with *ṛa* and *ḷa*.

" " *Nānārtha Ratnākara*, a glossary of Sanskrit words having several meanings, by Devottama (J).

" " *Rasa Ratnākara*, by Śālva (J); a complete treatise on dramatic composition.

XVI. Cent. *Kāvya Sāra*, a valuable anthology, by Abhinava Vādi Vidyānanda.

" " *Navarasālankāra*, by Tipparasa; on rasa and rhetoric ornaments.

C. 1610. *Kavi Kaṇṭha-hāra*, "Poet's Necklace," a metrical repertory of synonyms.

1700. *Apratima Vīra Charitra*, by Tirumalayengar, minister of Chikkadeva Rāya.

It is needless to refer to the many good modern grammars prepared for use in schools.

It will be helpful to some readers if we define here the Kanarese grammatical terms frequently occurring in this History.

Champu	A composition in mingled prose and verse.
Ragaḷe	A lyrical composition with a refrain, to be sung to standard *rāgas*.
Sāhitya	Any composition in literary rhetorical style. It is used also as the equivalent of the word *literature*.
Sāngatya	A composition to be chanted to the accompaniment of a musical instrument.
Yaksha-gāna	A kind of dramatic composition, suited for popular representation or declamation.

XII.

SANSKRIT WRITERS IN THE KANARESE COUNTRY

An account of English Literature would scarcely be complete without some mention of Newton's *Principia* and Bacon's *Novum Organum*, although these were written in Latin. In like manner, many notable works have been written in the Kanarese country by Kanarese men, but in the Sanskrit language. It has already been stated that some of the early Jaina poets wrote in Sanskrit, *e.g.*, Samantabhadra and Pūjyapāda Devanandi. Reference has also been made to various poets, such as Ponna (c. 950), Nāgavarma II (1120), Palkurike Soma (c. 1195), and Shaḍakshara Deva (1657), who were equally facile in Sanskrit and Kanarese, and some of whom bore the honorific title, *ubhaya-kavi*, "Poets, both in Sanskrit and the vernacular." Mention has also been made of Bhaṭṭākalanka's Kanarese Grammar, written in Sanskrit (1604). In addition to these the following are worthy of note; and the list could no doubt be extended.

In the ninth century *Śankarāchārya* established his principal monastery at Śṛingeri, where some think he died. Some of his commentaries may have been written there.

In 1085 *Bilhana*, a Kashmiri Brahman, who had settled at Kalyāṇa, wrote the *Vikramārkadeva Charitra*, a Sanskrit poem recounting the adventures and prowess of his patron, the Chālukya king, Vikrama (1076-1127). At the same court lived *Vijnāneśvara*, who there compiled the *Mitākshara*, which remains to this day a standard work on Hindu Jurisprudence. It concludes with the words: "On the face of the earth there has not been, there is not, and there never will be, a city like Kalyāṇa; never was a monarch seen or heard of equal to the prosperous Vikramārka."

In the thirteenth century *Madhvāchārya* founded the Dvaita school of the Vedānta. He lived and established his principal *maṭha* at Uḍupi in the Kanarese country, where he wrote his commentaries. He exerted a powerful influence on Kanarese literature.

In the fourteenth century (from 1331-1366) *Mādhavāchārya*, called also Vidyāraṇya, was guru of the Śṛingeri *maṭha*, and wrote the *Sarva Darśana Sangraha*. His brother, *Sāyaṇa*, was the most celebrated commentator on the Vedas. About the same time lived at Uḍupi Jayatīrthāchārya, one of the chief authorities of the Mādhva sect. I believe that many of the gurus of the Śṛingeri, Melkoṭe, and Uḍupi maṭhas have been authors of learned Sanskrit works.

LEADING DATES

Most of the dates are only approximate.

A.D.	
820—973	Rāshṭrakūṭas ruling at Mānyakheta (Jaina)
850	*Kavirājamārga*
941	Pampa's *Bhārata* and *Ādi Purāṇa*
950	Ponna's *Śānti Purāṇa*
900—1004	Later Gangas ruling at Talkād (Jaina)
978	Dedication of colossal Jain image at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa
„	*Chāvuṇḍa Rāya Purāṇa*
990	Nāgavarma I, *Chhandombudhi*
993	Ranna's *Ajita Purāṇa*, etc.
1000—1050	Chola conquests.
1040—1156	Western Chālukyas ruling at Kalyāṇa (Brahmanical)
1085	Bilhana's *Vikramārkacharitra*
„	Vijnāneśvara's *Mitākshara*
1145	Durgasimha's *Panchatantra*
1040—1326	Hoysalas ruling at Haḷebīḍ (at first Jaina, then Vaishṇava)
1156—1186	Kalachuris ruling at Kalyāṇa (Jaina)
1100	Rāmānujāchārya flourishes
„	Hoysala king abandons Jainism for Vaishṇavism
1105	Nāgachandra's *Pampa Rāmāyaṇa*
„	Kanti, poetess
„	Rājāditya, mathematician
1112	Nayasena's *Dharmāmṛita*
1120	Nāgavarma II, grammarian
1160	Lingāyat revival under Basava and Channabasava
1170	Nemichandra's *Līlāvatī*, etc.
1189	Aggala's *Chandraprabha Purāṇa*
„	Harīsvara's *Girijā Kalyāṇa*
	Rāghāvanka and Kereya Padmarasa

In the twelfth century the letter *la* falls out of use; and *p* is often changed to *h*.

1200	The worship of Harihara begins to be popular
	Someśvara Śataka and Palkurike Soma
	Devakavi's *Kusumāvaḷi*

1209	Janna's *Anantanātha Purāṇa*, etc.
1235	Āṇḍayya's *Kabbigara Kāva*
1245	Mallikārjuna's *Sūkti Sudhārṇava*
1260	Kēśiraja's *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa*
1275	Kumudendu *Rāmāyaṇa*
1280	Madhvāchārya preaches Dvaita doctrine, and encourages Krishṇa worship At this period the temples at Haḷebīḍ, Somnāthpura, and Java are built
1310-1326	Muhammadans overthrow South Indian kingdoms
1336—1565	The Vijayanagar Kingdom (Brahmanical)
1350	Mādhavāchārya and Sāyaṇa flourish
1369	Bhīma Kavi's *Basava Purāṇa*
1370	Mallanārya
1385	Madhura's *Dharmanātha Purāṇa*
1385	Padmanānka's *Padmarāja Purāṇa*
1455	Chāmarasa's *Prabhulinga-līle*
1460	Linga's *Kabbigara Kaipiḍi*
1480	Toṭadārya's *Karṇāṭaka Śabda Manjari*
1508	*Gadugina Bhārata*
1520	*Krishṇa Rāya Bhārata*
1550	Purandara Dāsa and Kanaka Dāsa
1585	*Channabasava Purāṇa*
1590	*Torave Rāmāyaṇa*
1600	*Kannaḍa Bhāgavata*
1604	Bhaṭṭakālanka Deva's *Karṇāṭaka Śabdānuśāsana*
1610	Mysore Rājas become independent, and adopt Vaishṇavism
1650	Nijaguṇa Yogis' *Viveka Chintāmaṇi*
1657	Shaḍakshara Deva's *Rājaśekhara Vilāsa*
1672—1704	Chikka Deva Rāja and his ministers Tirumalayengar and Chikupādhyāya Massacre of Jangamas Honnamma, poetess In seventeenth century the letter *ṛa* falls out of use
1720	Lakshmīśa's *Jaimini Bhārata*
1760	*Sarvajña Padagaḷu*
1800	Devachandra's *Rājāvaḷi Kathe*, etc.

APPENDIX A.

ORIGINAL TEXT OF SOME STANZAS QUOTED

Sravana Belgola Inscription, No. 26, cited on pp. 11 and 23.

Sura-chāpaṁ bole vidyul-lategala teṟaṟ ol manjuvol tōṟō begam |
piriduṁ śṟi-rūpa-līlā-dhana-vibhava-mahā-rāsigaḷ nillav ārggē |
paramārtham mechche nān ī dhariṇiyuḷ iruvān endu sanyāsana ge- |
yd uru-satvan Nandisena pravara-munivaran dēva-lōkakke sandān ||

Talkád Inscription, figured opposite to p. 11.

Swasti. Śṟi-rājyam Prithuvi-konguṇi-Muttarasar Śṟi-purusha-mahārāja prithivi-rājyam geye prathama-vijaya-sambatsāram Kārttige puṇṇume andu Taḷekkādā irppattayvarkkam Sindarasarum Devasatti-arasarum Mānasijarum vinnappam kēye paramakūlar mmagandir Arakesigal ānatti Āgapaḷḷiḷ viṭṭu prasādam geydār idarkke tombattāṟu-sāsiradā prakritigal ellorum ..... ṇisa padiḷo.

Translation: Be it well. While Prithivi Konguni Muttarasa Śṟi-purusha mahārāja of the 'fortunate kingdom' (*i.e.*, Gangavādi) was ruling the land,—in his first victorious year (or, in the first year of his reign) Sindarasa, Devasatti-arasa and Mānasija having made petition to the Twenty-five of Talkād, Arakesi, son of Parama-kūla, by order gave up Āgapaḷḷi and made a gift of it to them. To this all the authorities of the Ninety-six-thousand (*i.e.*, Gangavādi) [are witnesses.]

APPENDIX B.

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